

## Belgian Foreign Minister Tindemans: EEC might reassess Venice Declaration

By BENNY MORRIS  
Post Diplomatic Reporter

Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans yesterday clearly signalled a possible modification or abandonment by the EEC of its June 1980 Venice Declaration, in which the 10 European democracies endorsed the Palestinians' right to self-determination and called for PLO participation in the peace negotiations.

"My hope is to be able, at the end of this mission, to propose new ideas to my European colleagues, who told me that they attach great importance to my mission," said Tindemans, current president of the EEC council of ministers, at the end of a festive dinner in Jerusalem last night.

Earlier, after his meeting with Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir,

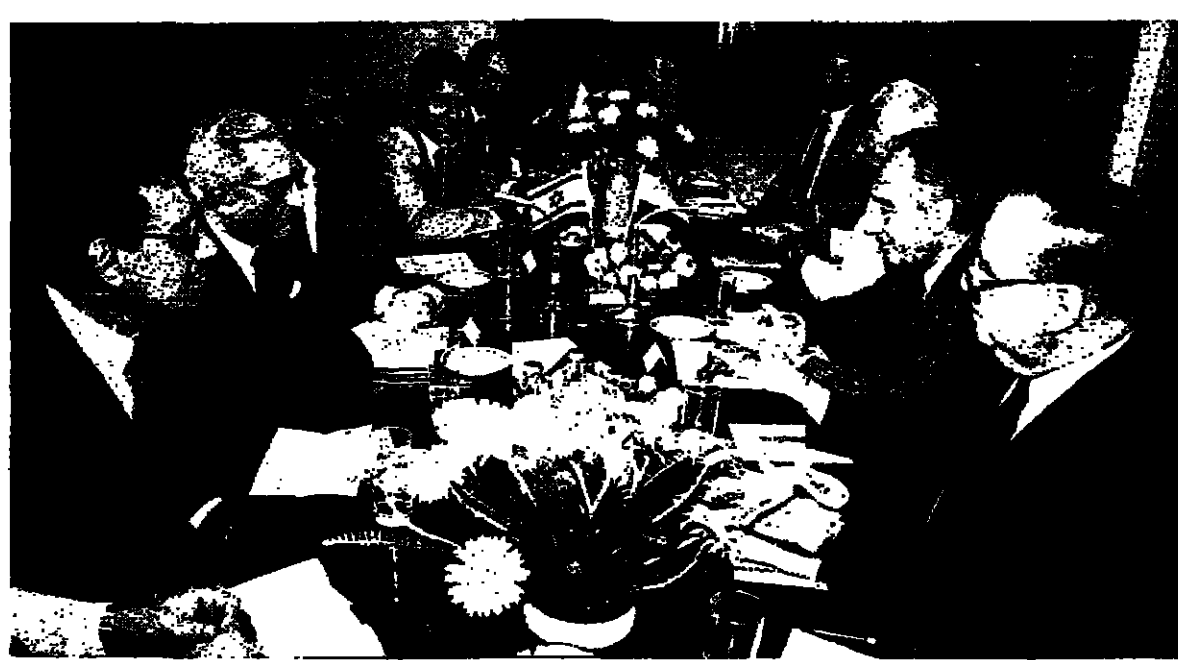
Tindemans told reporters that he has come to Israel to make "a new assessment" and to gather information about the Middle East situation — "after the numerous events and political changes of the last two years" — on behalf of the EEC.

Tindemans meets with Arab leaders from the Areas — page 2.

"When I said that we (the EEC) must make a new assessment, it could signify that we must develop a new policy," said the foreign minister, who repeatedly stressed that he had come to Israel as a representative of "the 10."

"There is not yet a new European policy" towards the Middle East, said Tindemans, answering a question.

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Members of the visiting delegation from the Egyptian National Democratic Party meet with Labour Party leaders in chairman Shimon Peres' office in Tel Aviv yesterday. Seated on the left are (from foreground) Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali, NDP deputy chairman Mustapha Khalil, Egypt's ambassador to Israel, Sa'ad Mortada and aides. On the right side of the table are former foreign minister Abba Eban, Peres, and Labour Party Secretary-General Haim Bar-Lev and aides.

(Uzi Keren)

## France closer to Saudi plan

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia (Reuters). — French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson said here yesterday that France had moved closer to Saudi Prince Fahd's Middle East plan, and that the time was appropriate for a new European statement on the Middle East.

Cheysson later left Saudi Arabia for Tunisia, after reportedly soothing strained relations between Paris and Riyadh.

Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal told a joint press conference in Riyadh that identical viewpoints emerged on all issues discussed during "fruitful and constructive" talks between Cheysson and King Khaled, Crown Prince Fahd and other Saudi leaders, the official Saudi press agency said.

Relations between the Arab world and France cooled, following

a visit to Israel last March by President Francois Mitterrand, and Cheysson's trip was seen by diplomats partly as a fence-mending exercise.

Cheysson told the press conference that France was ready to support efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war, which he described as a threat to security.

France and its nine European Economic Community partners offered two weeks ago to help find a peaceful end to the conflict.

He also expressed the need to settle the Middle East problem through negotiation with all concerned parties, including the PLO. Europe, and France in particular, was ready to take any initiative if asked by countries in the area, Cheysson said, but he rejected outside interference in the Middle East.

## Begin backs Aridor on blocking wage rises

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin yesterday gave his full support to the wage policy of Finance Minister Yoram Aridor. Speaking at the weekly cabinet meeting, which dealt with economic issues, Begin said that real wages and the standard of living should be kept at their present level. Wage increases should be granted only if productivity rises.

Begin added that the government can explain to the workers that a rise in wages will mean a rise in inflation, and this will cause an erosion of real wages.

Although Minister without Port-

folio Yitzhak Moda'i conceived the full-dress cabinet debate as an opportunity to criticize Aridor for lacking a long-term economic programme, the finance minister and Trade and Industry Minister Gideon Patai turned the meeting into an occasion for self-congratulation.

While restricting himself to a single comment on the wage-policy issue, Begin took extensive notes while Aridor and Patai spoke on economic progress, apparently gathering ammunition to use in future public statements geared towards possible early elections.

While the debate, the first to be dedicated to economic policy in the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Egyptians to meet Navon in Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Members of the visiting Egyptian delegation of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) are scheduled to meet with President Yitzhak Navon today in Jerusalem, despite Cairo's objection to holding autonomy talks in the capital.

The delegation, headed by NDP deputy chairman Mustapha Khalil, includes Butros Ghali, the minister of state for foreign affairs; Mohamed Abdel-Aleha, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Peoples Assembly; and Kamal Shazli, deputy secretary of the party.

The five-day visit, which began yesterday, is at the invitation of the Labour Party and is part of the continuing contacts between the Israeli opposition parliamentarians and the NDP.

The delegation met yesterday with Labour Party Chairman Shimon Peres, former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, ex-foreign minister Abba Eban and party secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev. They discussed the Palestinian issue, the Iran-Iraq war and the dispute over Jerusalem.

A Labour Party spokesman present at the meeting said the Egyptians told their hosts that Cairo is not boycotting Jerusalem, but will not hold autonomy talks there.

The delegation is due to meet Navon in Jerusalem today and will also hold talks with Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir during

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

## Two Falklands villages taken British forces push closer to Port Stanley

LONDON. — British paratroopers and marines have recaptured Douglas settlement and Teal Inlet in their northern thrust against Port Stanley, bringing them within 35 kilometres of the Argentine-held capital of the Falkland Islands, the Defence Ministry reported yesterday.

A spokesman said the two settlements were occupied without a fight, apparently after they were abandoned by Argentine forces. The villages "are now securely in our hands," he declared.

An estimated 2,500 British troops were moving along the north coast of East Falkland toward Port Stanley, the main Argentine stronghold where some 7,000 troops are dug in.

Some 600 paratroopers advancing from the west recaptured the settlements of Goose Green and Darwin in fierce fighting Friday.

Stanley, where Argentines were reportedly pouring in reinforcements, is expected to be the decisive engagement in the battle for the islands Argentina seized April 2.

British troops pushed south from

the beachhead established May 21 around San Carlos Bay to retake Goose Green and Darwin and east to Douglas and Teal Inlet to advance in a pincer movement toward Stanley.

The Argentines hold a high ridge several kilometres west of Stanley and its vital airfield.

British military analysts believe this will be the British pincer's main tactical objective.

An Exocet missile, fired from an Argentine Super-Etendard jet-fighter, slammed into the British aircraft carrier, *Invincible*, yesterday, seriously damaging the vessel, according to the privately-owned Argentine news agency, Noticias Argentinas.

Chief of military staff, Col. Christopher Dunphy, said 120 of the Argentine prisoners were wounded. He gave no indication how many were killed. Press Association said the number of Argentine dead was "up to 100."

Dunphy said six Argentine Pucara aircraft attacked the assault forces and four of the planes were shot down by ground fire and Blowpipe missiles.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

## Only military strike can deal with terrorists, says Eitan

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TIBERIAS. — The terrorist problem cannot be solved without military action, Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan said yesterday. Only a military strike can prevent the terrorists from harassing Israel and enable Israel to negotiate on its terms, he told a gathering of pupils at the religious high school here.

Eitan also said the Syrian missiles in Lebanon were "a military nuisance." The problem was being dealt with on a political level, but it should be remembered that the problem of the Iraqi atomic reactor had also been dealt with first at the political level.

Eitan said that the defeat of Iraq by Iran was good for Israel and that he hoped the Iraqis would be annihilated.

The chief of staff noted that the last time he had suggested that the Gulf war was good for Israel, the media had criticized him severely. But the fact remained, he said, that

an Iraqi defeat would be a good thing. Eitan said that so far the dimensions of the defeat had not been very large and he expected Iraq would again become a confrontation state with Israel. In his opinion, however, President Saddam Hussein's days were numbered.

The chief of staff said that the Iraqis were fighting well, particularly when one considered that some of their best generals had been executed by the Khomeini regime.

In answer to a question, Eitan agreed that the Iraqis were also enemies of Israel. They had called their war against Iraq, "the Jerusalem campaign," he noted.

However, to get to Jerusalem, they would have to cross Iraq and Jordan and they could be expected to leave a trail of destruction in those countries. This in itself would be a net gain, said Eitan, but when they came to Israel they would find out that "we are not Jordanians or Iraqis."

## Telem, coalition near understanding on economic issues

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Chances for an early Telem entry into the coalition markedly improved yesterday afternoon after a two-and-a-half hour discussion on economic policy, which surprisingly left the Telem side satisfied and the coalition's spirit buoyed. Further talks were held later last night on defence and foreign policy questions.

Both sides were predicting yesterday that an agreement in principle on Telem's entry into the coalition is likely to be reached by the end of this week. It would then have to be submitted for the approval of Telem's forum — the steering committee and the party council.

Former finance minister and

Telem MK Yigael Hurvitz had consistently been one of the most outspoken opponents to the economic policy of his successor in the Treasury, Herut's Yoram Aridor. But yesterday afternoon's meeting seemed to have removed much of their differences of opinion.

Both coalition and Telem sources contend that one of the main hurdles to the entry of Telem into the coalition — the economic controversy — has now nearly been swept aside, although the discussion has not been finalized formally and another session on economics is expected later this week.

Emerging from yesterday's meeting, Hurvitz reported that "there is now a clear tendency to accept some of my opinions. I was heard out and noticed a readiness to

meet us half-way. I have reason to believe that we will soon reach agreement."

Hurvitz added that the discussion was not about "foggy theory but about operative policy. The direction in which the government is now going is one that we could support."

The meeting was attended by Telem MK Mordechai Ben-Porat and on the coalition side by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, Liberal Minister without Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i, Tami Ben-Zion Rubin and Agudat Yisrael's Avraham Shapira and Shlomo Lorincz.

Ben-Porat later told *The Jerusalem Post* that the meeting dealt also "with social policy and our stand on religious clauses in the coalition agreement. We reached agreement in principle and also on how the policies ought to be

implemented."

Labour Party sources told *The Post* that with party Chairman Shimon Peres back in the country, he will demand an early audience with the Telem leadership in a last-minute attempt to avert a Telem entry into the coalition.

The Telem steering committee had in its last meeting agreed to hear the Labour Party out, but the party's two MKs insist that this should not be construed "as negotiations with Labour. While we are negotiating with the government, we shall not be negotiating with Labour."

"A date (for a meeting with Peres) has not yet been fixed," Ben-Porat said.

Ben-Porat also told *The Post* that "we do not accept the Labour notion of territorial compromise."

## Iraq reports bombing of Iran oil facilities

BEIRUT (AP). — The Persian Gulf war escalated yesterday with Iraq saying its planes bombed two strategic oil installations in northern and southern Iran in retaliation for artillery attacks against civilian centres inside Iraq.

The Iraqis said the raids on Iran's Kharg Island oil terminal in the Gulf and an oil refinery in the northwestern city of Tabriz were examples of Iraq making good on a recent warning that Iran will suffer if it attacks Iraqi civilian areas.

Teheran Radio reported that an Iraqi jet was shot down during a dogfight in southwestern Iran over the heavily shelled Iranian oil refinery centre of Abadan.

It said the sides exchanged artillery fire across the Shatt al-Arab waterway, which formed the pre-war southern border between the two combatants at the top of the Gulf.

An Iraqi shell hit a hospital in Abadan, "wounding some civilians,"

The dispatch from Baghdad reported Iranian long-range guns shelled civilian areas in the southern Iraqi port of Basra on the western shore of the waterway, Iraq's only outlet to the sea.

Iran on Saturday said its forces had crossed the pre-war borders along the southern reaches of the Shatt al-Arab and set an Iraqi

military installation ablaze on the road south of Basra.

Iraq said Iranian shells also fell yesterday on the border town of Penjwyn.

The air strikes came seven days after waves of charging Iraqis recaptured Khorramshahr in the southwestern oil province of Khuzestan and kicked the Iraqis back across their own borders.

In Riyadh, meanwhile, the foreign ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman) started a crucial policy meeting yesterday on adopting a unified position on the conflict.

## Sharon: I was not the first to disclose Iran arms deal

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEN GURION AIRPORT. — Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said yesterday that he was not the first to disclose that Israel had sold arms to Iran.

At a news conference here on his return from the U.S., Sharon rejected criticism that he disclosed highly sensitive information to the media.

Sharon said the reports on Israeli arms sales to Iran were "probably leaked by sources close to the American administration" to foil a campaign against the planned sales of sophisticated weapons to Jordan.

During the "many months of discussions at the highest level" on the Israel-Iran deal, Jerusalem had revealed nothing, he noted.

However, he felt he had to rebuff "an attempt to present Israel as a country willing to supply arms to anyone."

Sharon was alluding to attacks on Israel for selling arms to Iran and persistent reports that the Israeli arms discovered on board an

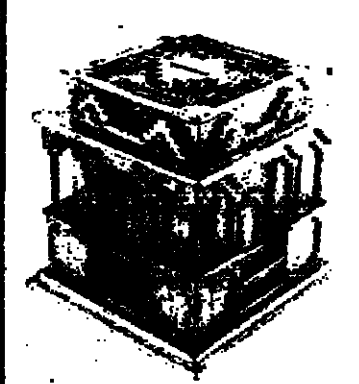
Ecuadorian plane in New York last week were destined for Argentina. Since the media did not believe Prime Minister Begin's, his own and the Ecuadorian government's denials, Sharon said he had announced the deal with Ecuador so as not to give anyone a pretext to justify "a massive arms supply to the Arab countries."

In reply to a question, he said the published deals reflected only a fraction of Israel's arms exports. Sharon commented in full view of foreign TV cameras and microphones, but later asked Israel Radio not to broadcast his remark.

He told reporters he believed he had managed to put over Israel's case against arms supplies to Jordan and indirect supplies to Iraq. However, he predicted that Israel was still facing a "tough battle" on this issue.

Benny Morris adds: Sharon will report to the cabinet tomorrow on his visit to the U.S. at a special session devoted to political and defence affairs, a government spokesman said yesterday.

### The wood-be-goods...



...involved in a right carve up. Three entirely different ways of creating in wood are described by Greer Fay Cashman, Betty Lipman, and Betty Hilton.

One woman's collection of not-so-precious objects, seen by Gloria Deutsch.

All in Today — Interiors.  
in Wednesday's Jerusalem Post.

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AMSTERDAM	10	50	25	77	Sunny								
BRUSSELS	13	58	28	77	Sunny								
CHICAGO	9	48	28	88	Sunny								
COPENHAGEN	10	50	27	83	Sunny								
FRANKFURT	10	50	27	83	Sunny								
GENEVA	12	54	21	79	Cloudy								
KIEL	8	46	18	64	Clear								
LONDON	12	53	23	72	Clear								
MADRID	10	50	22	72	Cloudy								
MONTREAL	18	61	27	80	Shower								
NEW YORK	15	58	23	74	Cloudy								
OSLO	9	48	21	70	Clear								
PARIS	14	57	23	72	Sunny								
RIO DE JANEIRO	15	59	24	75	Clear								
ROME	13	56	26	88	Sunny								
SAO PAULO	11	51	19	68	Clear								
STOCKHOLM	14	57	26	88	Clear								
TOKYO	21	70	28	74	Cloudy								
TORONTO	14	57	21	70	Cloudy								
VIENNA	16	62	28	78	Clear								
ZURICH	14	57	21	70	Cloudy								

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear with moderate temperatures.

Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
High	Low	High
27	12-25	24
26	11-24	23
28	15-24	24
28	19-24	24
28	17-31	31
28	15-25	25
28	16-27	27
28	14-26	26
28	18-26	26
28	16-27	27
28	18-33	33
28	17-29	29
28	15-29	28
28	23-33	33

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Forty elementary schoolchildren, prize-winners in an essay competition on How I Befriended an Immigrant Child, initiated by Wizo's Immigrant Absorption Department, were received at the Knesset, together with the children they helped, by Speaker Menachem Savidor. They were also addressed by World Wizo President Raya Jaglom.

Shabtai Himmelfarb, chairman of the Israel Association of Daily Newspapers, has been elected vice-president of the International Association of Daily Newspaper Publishers at its 35th annual congress, being held in Oslo.

Dr. Zvi Fein, vice-president of the Israel Joint, will speak tonight for The Rotary West, at 7, at The King David Hotel.

A memorial evening for Israeli painter Michael Argov, who died last month, will be held at 7:30 p.m. this evening at the Tel Aviv Museum.

## ARRIVALS


Joao Salvador de Souza Jardim, the minister of trade and industry of Brazil's Rio Grande do Sul district, as a guest of the Foreign Ministry.

For the annual meeting of the Board of Governors of Tel Aviv University: Prof. Lawrence Bessner from Canada; Mr. and Mrs. Manuel Sachar from South Africa; Mr. Herbert Cohen and Prof. and Mrs. Arnold Heerle from Holland; Prof. and Mrs. Folger from Denmark; Dr. Kurt Torqvist from Sweden; Mr. Abraham Kogan, Mr. and Mrs. Luiz Chor, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Perlman, and Prof. and Mrs. Moshe Glat from Brazil; Prof. and Mrs. Emilio Segre, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Stern, Mr. and Mrs. John Rauch, Dr. and Mrs. Richard Sackler and Dr. Harry Wolf from the U.S.A.; Mr. and Mrs. Cyril Spencer, Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Porter, Lady Cohen, Mr. and Mrs. Archie Sherman, Lady Beryl Stone, and Sir Arnold Burgen from England; Rector Jean Roche, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Frenkel, Mr. Hugo Rannocan, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Wais, Dr. and Mrs. Jean Choukroun, Mr. and Mrs. Sapon, President Augier from France; Mr. and Mrs. Salvatore Fornari from Italy; Dr. and Mrs. Reuven Mernfeld from Venezuela; Lady Ashdown from England for the dedication of the Lord Ashdown Hall of Residence; Prof. and Mrs. Maria Henrique Simoesen from Brazil, for the inauguration of the Mario Henrique Simoesen Chair of Public Finance; Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Shoshana Schreiber from England, for the dedication of the Jacob and Shoshana Schreiber Square and the inauguration of the Jacob and Shoshana Schreiber Doctoral Fellowship in the Humanities; Prof. Michael Sovern, to receive an Honorary Doctorate from Tel Aviv University, and Mrs. Sovern from the U.S.A.; Mr. Nicholas Marsh from the U.S.A., for the dedication of the Nicholas and Irene Marsh Building of Dental Medicine.

Greek film director, Theodoros Angelopoulos, arrived in Israel yesterday and is staying at the Carlton-Penta, Tel Aviv.

## Marriage

Licia D'Angeli and Arrigo Aaron Barac celebrated their marriage on May 26, at the Haifa rabbinate.



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# WORLD & HOME NEWS

## Histadrut threatens individual wage talks

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Finance Minister Yoram Aridor should forget about three-way wage negotiations among the private employers, the government and the Histadrut, the labour federation said yesterday. Unless the government and the Histadrut agree on the civil servants' pay by next Sunday, the Treasury will have to negotiate individually with each of the relevant unions, it added.

The threat to leave the field to the various unions has also been made in the arduous talks held with the Coordinating Bureau of (the privately owned) Economic Organizations.

Hitherto, the Histadrut had concluded overall wage agreements providing for across-the-board wage increases and a general outline for subsequent negotiations between each union and the relevant employers on specific issues relating to their respective sector.

Yesterday's threat suggests negotiations would be much more difficult, because each union leader would try to outdo the other. Reuven Ben-Ami, the secretary-general of the 60,000-strong Civil Servants Union said he alone had 42 demands and the employers "will

have to sit with us on each and every one of them."

Aridor's idea is to fight inflation by preventing a real increase in workers' wages.

The chairman of the coordinating bureau, Eli Hurvitz, accepted Aridor's suggestion, although the employers' chief wage negotiator, Avi Pelosof, had reservations, arguing the bilateral negotiations with the Histadrut were well advanced. But Pelosof, too, noted that talks had been stymied at the main issue of determining the size of the wage increase.

Pelosof said that unless a wage agreement — for the privately owned sector — is concluded within 10 days, the employers may allow separate negotiations between management and employees.

Such a move would harm employees of enterprises claiming they cannot keep up with inflation, he said.

Under an overall agreement, the coordinating bureau may press individual entrepreneurs to make the extra effort to maintain real wages. However, Labour council secretaries know the truth about weak companies and would hesitate to press too hard in separate talks, he added.

## Tindemans also meets with West Bank-Gaza leaders

By DAVID RICHARDSON  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Europe's continued commitment to finding a solution to the Palestinian question and local ideas about how to pursue such a solution were aired during a series of meetings between the visiting Belgian Foreign Minister, Leo Tindemans, and four local Palestinian personalities yesterday afternoon.

As at past meetings with visiting European diplomats, Tindemans heard the traditional demands of self-determination and statehood with the re-affirmation of support for the PLO. But this time, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij raised the idea of an international trusteeship which would control the disputed territories until a final solution could be agreed on.

Tindemans, who is here in his capacity as president of the EEC's council of ministers, met separately with Gaza Mayor Rashad Shawwa, former Jordanian defence minister Anwar Nusseibeh, Dr. Hatem Abu Ghazaleh of Nablus and Freij. The meetings took place in the Belgian consulate in East Jerusalem.

Belgian officials had originally included Ibrahim Dakkak, a prominent East Jerusalem engineer and member of the recently-banned National Guidance Committee on their list to meet Tindemans. But

Dakkak was informed on Saturday that the invitation was being cancelled. West Bank sources said last night that Dakkak, who is already confined to his home from dusk to dawn under the Emergency Regulations, was dropped because of pressure from the Israeli government.

But Foreign Ministry spokesman Avi Pazner denied this absolutely last night. "Dakkak's name was not on the list submitted to us. We did not interfere with these meetings in any way," he said.

Shawwa said after emerging from his meeting with Tindemans that the Palestinians wanted to be treated "as men free to decide their own fate and not as slaves." He said that this meant the right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state headed by the PLO.

Nusseibeh reiterated that as far as local Palestinians were concerned the Camp David agreements were not a solution and he referred to previous decisions by the UN as an alternative.

Freij proposed the idea of international or UN trusteeship which would apply to Gaza and the West Bank, until an acceptable solution could be found. He stressed that Israeli settlements were an increasing danger to the Palestinians and that time was not in their favour.

## Lapid's return could herald end of TV dispute

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Broadcasting Authority director-general Yosef Lapid is scheduled to return home from a vacation in South Africa tomorrow, offering some hope that he can resolve labour disputes that have been troubling Israel TV.

Demanding promotions, staffers have "bleached" the colour from TV promotions for nearly two

weeks, caused some studio programmes to be cancelled because scenery was not ready in time and prevented the airing of satellite reports on Maba news. Administrative workers have also applied sanctions.

Deputy director-general Shlomo Abadi, who has been meeting with worker representatives, has asserted that their demands are impossible to meet.

## BEGIN BACKS ARIDOR

(Continued from Page 1)

present government term, became a demonstration of support for Aridor, most ministers appeared to feel that a few pats on the back were timely in view of a general climate of unease about the government's economic policy which could harm the Likud just six months or a year before election time. Since not all of the ministers who asked to speak at the meeting had the opportunity to do so, including Moda'i, it was decided to continue the debate next week.

Despite the general tone of support of Treasury policies, a final decision was reached only on the issue of wages. On all other topics raised during the debate — unemployment, government expenditures, balance of payments — it was decided that Aridor will prepare summaries of the various issues.

Sources at the Finance Ministry

stressed that this does not mean that the government asked for an economic programme. The present policies received full support, although the minister was asked to present a written summary and did not get an automatic endorsement for his economic measures.

Aridor emphasized the positive performance of the economy in 1981, but warned that ministers must stay within their budgets to insure a continuation of this positive trend. Among the 1981 achievements, Aridor cited the rise in the rate of economic growth and the stability of unemployment figures, as compared to the situation in Western Europe, and the increase in exports and real wages.

Aridor devoted considerable time to the problem of preventing wage increases and he blamed Histadrut Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel for allegedly refusing to negotiate with him, preferring instead to talk to the private employers.

The minister also referred to some of the recent social legislation, such as the minimum income law, and said that although he favours these laws, if they are enacted immediately, all efforts at restraint will be cancelled out.

Bank of Israel Governor Moshe Mandelbaum added a somewhat different note to the debate. Mandelbaum warned the ministers about the dangers of the present level of the government's excess demand (the excess of expenditure over revenue). Mandelbaum said that it was up to the ministers to continue the 1981 achievements.

The theme of consolidating past achievements was a recurring one in the debate, although other issues were also raised. Minister of Absorption Aharon Zuck spoke about the difficult situation of one-family farms.

Other topics included the need to encourage demobilized soldiers to enter the labour force and the situation of low-salaried workers.



A delegation of senior Egyptian health officials, led by Health Council chairman Dr. Aziz Huli, yesterday visits the Teva pharmaceutical plant in Jerusalem at the start of a five-day visit as guests of Health Minister Eliezer Shostak. (Zoom 77)

## Nitzana to become main tourist station

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NITZANA. — Tourist traffic between Egypt and Israel will largely be redirected from the terminal at Rafah to the border crossing point at Nitzana, a source in the Tourism Ministry said yesterday.

Evidence of this intention may be seen in the new buildings being constructed at the border point, a kilometre south of the Nitzana Nahal outpost. These appear to be suitable for tourist traffic and are large enough to handle several hundred people daily.

To date, only one Israeli traveller

has crossed the border here, and not a single Egyptian or foreign visitor has entered from Sinai. Trucks do not pass through the border check post, as goods brought by Israeli vehicles are unloaded and reloaded onto Egyptian trucks on the other side.

According to the ministry source, the main reason for the move from Rafah to Nitzana is security. Tourist buses travelling through Gaza Strip towns have occasionally been stoned and the frequent tension in the area is not conducive to tourism, the source explained.

## Israeli academic centre to be set up in Egypt

Jerusalem Post Reporter

An Israeli academic centre is being established in Cairo to assist Israeli researchers and to act as go-between with the Egyptian authorities. The centre is the result of an agreement signed in March by the governments of Israel and Egypt.

Announcing this, the Israel

Academy of Sciences and Humanities said the centre, which will be situated in a residential building in the Giza neighbourhood on the west bank of the Nile, will serve all disciplines.

The centre will be headed by Israeli orientalist, Prof. Shimon Shamir, who will work with a small staff.

## EEC MIDEAST STAND

(Continued from Page 1)

about whether the EEC position has already been superseded or discarded. "I will put my report (based on my talks in the Middle East) on the table and they (the EEC ministers) will (then) decide to develop a new policy or not to modify" or change the existing one.

Tindemans said that he hopes on the basis of his report the EEC will see its way "to proposing measures which will inspire confidence" among the parties to the conflict and will "help avoid a new war."

At the festive dinner, given by Shamir in honour of Tindemans, the latter reiterated his country's continued adherence to the 1947 and 1949 UN resolutions' designation of Jerusalem as an "international zone."

"It is very impressive for a Christian to be in this beautiful Jerusalem, as it must be for a Jew or a Moslem. As you know, we do not share your views on the status of this city — our guidance is the UN resolution of 1947," the visiting minister said.

But Tindemans leavened this statement with strong pro-Israeli pronouncements, of a nature likely to warm the heart of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, whom he is to meet this morning.

"Never shall we give our support to any proposal which would endanger the future of Israel," said the Belgian. "We know what it means for your people to feel alone and insecure; we will always bear in mind the images of the Jewish boy with his hands up in the Warsaw Ghetto; or the little girl who found no one but her diary to share her fears," said Tindemans.

"Neither shall we ever take part in any project which would aim to isolate Israel from the international community, even when we disagree with you on some action you undertake," he said.

However, Tindemans added that "if the security of Israel is a basic principle for us, we consider equally the future of the Palestinian people as a central issue."

In the copy of the speech released to journalists, Tindemans followed this with a passage — omitted during his actual address at the dinner — as follows: "The Europeans are convinced that there can be no durable solution without the Palestinians being involved in the definition and implementation of a peaceful solution." (The text was released to journalists without

omission or comment, indicating the Belgians' wish that it be published.)

At the 90-minute meeting with Shamir, which Tindemans subsequently described as "excellent, frank and friendly," and in which "no subject was avoided," the Belgian said that Europe is looking for ways to help advance the peace process and would like to have Shamir's ideas on the subject.

Shamir stressed that the problems of the Middle East must be solved by the parties in the region without outside interference.

Tindemans then repeated that the best service Europe could render would be public and unequivocal endorsement of the Camp David process and an offer of financial assistance in joint development projects with Egypt. Both moves would demonstrate to other Arab countries that peace is the only worthwhile policy which can benefit the Arabs.

Tindemans said that there is now in Europe a better understanding of the Camp David process and said that on the basis of his recent trips to Arab capitals, there is a growing acceptance of Egypt in the Arab world.

During the afternoon, Tindemans was hosted for lunch at the Knesset by Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor, who urged the Belgians and other western European states to move their embassies to Jerusalem.

Tindemans asked his host whether a halt could be made in the establishment of Jewish settlements in the administered areas. Savidor responded that this is "unthinkable," as no area of the Land of Israel should be closed to Jewish settlement.

At the festive dinner last night given by Shamir in honour of his guest, Shamir noted the shared background of Belgium and Israel.

Shamir clearly attacked the Venice Declaration by stating: "All support for the PLO, in deeds or in implicit or explicit statements, weakens the chance of dialogue between us and our Arab neighbours. Calls to include the terrorist organizations in negotiations... make the desired peace grow more remote."

Earlier, Tindemans met President Yitzhak Navon. Today he will meet with Prime Minister Menachem Begin before holding a second session with Shamir.

## Peres to offer ex-Likud MKs 'separate faction bloc status'

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The "saving solution" for the Alignment's 18, which Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres is reported to have brought with him from Finland Saturday night, involves awarding the two Likud defectors the same status in the Labour Party as MK Rabbi Menachem Hacohen has, reliable Labour sources told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

The Peres solution is to be proposed officially to Mapam leaders this morning in yet another attempt to prevent the break-up of the Alignment over the agreement between Labour and MKs Amnon Linn and Yitzhak Peretz, recently of the Likud.

According to Labour insiders the Peres solution is an attempt to reconcile opposing demands from Mapam and the two defectors. Mapam insists that the only way in which it would agree to see the two as part of the Alignment Knesset faction is if they become Labour Party members, in which case it could not raise any objections. It has the right, however, to veto the entry of new factions into the Alignment.

On the other hand, Linn and Peretz have thus far been reluctant to enter Labour proper. Linn is believed in Labour to be more amenable, but Peretz has thus far been more adamant in his refusal to enter Labour and has insisted on the special status of a parliamentary bloc within the Alignment, an arrangement whose nature is still far from clear.

One precedent which may satisfy both of them and Mapam, it is thought in Labour, is that of Hacohen. He is nominally a member of Labour but heads a faction called the Religious Worker's Faction, which means that he has the sole Labour member whose place on the list of Knesset candidates is automatically guaranteed, even before the list is drawn up.

Peres' thinking, *The Post* was told, is that Peretz and Linn could form such factions in Labour. Mapam then would not be able to protest, and the two would retain a somewhat distinct identity and would be able to claim safe Knesset slots by virtue of representing separate factions.

Mapam sources indicated unofficially last night that they would not accept such a solution, calling it "a semantic cover-up."

## Burg asks NRP defectors to come home

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — National Religious Party leader Yosef Burg yesterday called on his party's activists who had joined the Tehiya party to return to their political home, "since on the question of Judea and Samaria or Jerusalem there is no difference whatever between us."

Addressing the NRP's central committee at the Ohel Shem auditorium here yesterday, Burg argued that "Israel now faces new and difficult political struggles, especially since we are the only country in the world today whose capital is not recognized as such. He noted that "even a country like Egypt, with whom we have a peace

treaty, is boycotting Jerusalem." He pointed to the fact that the Egyptian guests "of the Israel Labour party, their brother socialists, will be going to Jerusalem. But the same Egyptians refuse to talk about the autonomy in Jerusalem. This is a boycott, plain and simple, and a refusal to regard Jerusalem as our capital."

This, according to Burg, is an example of the difficulties Israel faces, "and here there is no difference between us in the NRP and our brothers in the settlements who left the NRP to join Tehiya. The quarrel about Yomit is over. Today the front is united. There are no differences between us on Judea, Samaria, Gaza or Jerusalem."

## Herut members elect convention delegates

TEL AVIV. — Dues-paying Herut members yesterday voted in internal party elections to choose 1,200 delegates for the party convention at the end of this month. The convention delegates will elect the party's central committee, which will then decide on the make-up of the party slate of Knesset candidates.

Herut does not have clearly defined factions as is the case with Labour, for example, and hence party insiders said last night that even when the results are all in, it would not be possible to conjecture about which of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's heirs-apparent has won the upper hand in the elections.

## New French units deploy in S. Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — A contingent of 650 French soldiers yesterday joined other new arrivals to the UNIFIL forces in South Lebanon, bringing its strength to 7,000. The French troops, who arrived by sea in Beirut last week, yesterday deployed in the eastern part of the central sector of the UNIFIL zone, near the villages of Taibe and Kantara.

The troops are equipped with armoured cars, jeeps and French-made Milan anti-tank missiles. Sources outside UNIFIL said they had also brought anti-aircraft weapons.

Sources in South Lebanon expressed satisfaction at the arrival of the French and the departure of some units of Nigerian troops. Whereas the French soldiers have a good reputation, the Nigerians were regarded as incompetent and lacking motivation. The Foreign Ministry has asked Paris to post its new battalion on the northern side of the UNIFIL zone facing Palestinian units to avert possible friction with Mej. Sa'ad Haddad's militia and thereby with Israel, a well-placed source told *The Jerusalem Post*.

The source said he did not believe there was a connection between the decision to post the French battalion in the central region and send

the Nigerians to the coast and the fact the French had clashed with the terrorists when they were stationed near Tyre some three years ago.

Then the French soldiers were known to be effective in stopping infiltration, even when it meant suffering casualties.

UNIFIL orders, however, forbid opening fire on the terrorists, saying that terrorists can only be detained, disarmed, returned to Tyre and freed.

In addition to the 650 new French troops, additional detachments from Norway, Ghana and Ireland, arrived recently.

## EGYPTIAN

(Continued from Page 1)

their visit. The Egyptians are staying in a Tel Aviv hotel.

Speaking to newsmen at the airport, Khalil said that while Egypt welcomed a renewal of ties with the Arabs, it would "not agree to any intervention on the part of the Arabs in our relations with Israel."

Khalil also noted that Egypt supported a peaceful settlement of the Gulf War, noting that Egypt could play a prominent role in achieving this. But he ruled out any possibility of Egypt sending forces to support Iraq in the war.

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## Doctors seeking law on cigarette ads, smoking

Jerusalem Post Staff  
All cigarette advertising and smoking in public places should be outlawed, the Israel Medical Association stated yesterday in a memorandum to the Health Ministry and Knesset members.

The association calls for legislation of an outright ban on advertising to stop perpetuating the social norm of smoking and the recruitment of new generations of young smokers. The memorandum singled out cigarette advertisements in publications read by youth, including one series of ads featuring a popular male singer.

Stating that the dangers to health from smoking tobacco — and particularly cigarettes — have been "elucidated beyond any reasonable doubt," the association called upon Israel to join the world's "civilized

countries" and act immediately to cut down on smoking.

The memorandum also calls for compulsory health warnings to be printed on all tobacco packaging, as is done in several western countries, such as the U.S., Canada and Britain.

Another section of the law should extend the present ban on smoking in cinemas, performance halls and public transportation to elevators, banks, public offices, shops, restaurants and cafes, the memorandum said.

The IMA recognizes the impossibility of enforcing a ban on smoking, so its proposal concentrates on raising awareness to the dangers of smoking while limiting its practice. The recommended law would leave the decision to quit smoking up to the individual, but forbid the smoker from being a public nuisance.

## Monitors out to catch noise and air polluters

Jerusalem Post Staff  
Drivers whose cars belch smoke will be fined if they are stopped at one of the mobile air-quality units stationed along the nation's roads this week, in a joint campaign run by the Health Ministry and the police as part of International Environmental Quality Week.

Sophisticated devices have been set up in the centre of Jerusalem to detect the presence of noise and air

pollution. A team of experts near each device will provide information in an effort to raise public awareness of environmental problems.

The Council for the Prevention of Noise and Air Pollution (Malraz) has recently recommended closing school playgrounds and swimming pools located near residential buildings during the daily rest hours (2-4 p.m.) to eliminate noise from play.

## Emergency road phones out of order

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Nearly all the emergency telephones are out of order on the coastal road between the Country Club, north of Tel Aviv, and the Givat Olga quarter of Hadera, a Magen David Adom spokesman told The Jerusalem Post yesterday.

This is because the Transportation and Communications ministries are not budgeting any money for maintenance of these phones, he said.

The spokesman called on motorists to use other phones in case of emergencies and to call the nearest MDA station or police. He said that during the past year, more and more breakdowns had occurred on the emergency phone line.

Last month, Amizur Kfir, the

managing director of MDA, sent urgent letters to the directors-general of the two ministries to request the telephones be repaired and maintained properly. At that time, 60 per cent of the phones were not working; today the number is closer to 100 per cent. Kfir says he has not received any reply from the two ministries.

The emergency telephone network was set up about 10 years ago. Thirty-two phones were set up every two kilometres on the coastal road as far north as Hadera. At that time the plan was to continue the network to Haifa. The infrastructure for an emergency line was laid when the new Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway was built, but no phones have been installed to date. The warehouses of the MDA reportedly contain dozens of phones ready for installation.

## Ramat Gan residents scorn football field

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Ramat Gan residents yesterday threatened to block with their bodies the entrance to a football field which the Tel Aviv Municipality is quietly building for the Betar Tel Aviv sports association on a Tel Avivian enclave in Ramat Gan.

The residents, who live in the Vatikim, Rokeach, Haruzim and Anne Frank quarters, have held emergency meetings during the past few days and decided to prevent the completion of the football field. They accused Ramat Gan Mayor Yisrael Peled of ignoring the interests of his town by letting Tel Aviv inflict upon it a "hazard" which Tel Aviv's residents managed to avert.

The football field, which is being built due to the pressures of the Herut faction in the municipal coalition, was planned originally for Tel Aviv's prestigious Bavli quarter. However, before the municipal elections four years ago, Bavli residents threatened not to vote for Mayor Shlomo Lahat if the field was laid.

The project then seemed to fade away, until 18 months ago, when it was decided to construct the field in the enclave, near Ramat Gan's Givat Napoleon, an area populated by thousands of residents.

The plans for the field were approved by the Tel Aviv construction committee, but were not transferred to the regional urban construction committee, because on paper the area is still considered "open public grounds."



Stolen carpets valued at some IS1.5m. were put on display yesterday by police at the Yaron hall at 4 Rehov Yona Hanavi in Tel Aviv. People who had carpets stolen over the past two years may view 30 Persian, Chinese, Bukharan and other carpets from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. until June 7. Details are available by calling 03-242244. (M. Dekel)

## Bitter court employees step up sanctions

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Courtroom employees here yesterday stepped up their sanctions which they have been applying for the past month to press for an increase in wages. In a number of court houses, they barricaded corridors and blocked doorways to the courtrooms with furniture.

Courtroom employees around the country expressed bitterness yesterday at the Treasury's decision to deduct half their current salaries

because of the sanctions. Representatives of the employees complained that a half-salary would be well below the minimum legal wage, bearing in mind that their salaries were low as it was.

In a related development, four of the country's most senior courtroom employees announced yesterday that they wished to resign their positions. They include Yitzhak Atzitz, head of the High Court department and chief

translator, the head of the assistant clerks' division and two senior secretaries. They wrote to the deputy-president of the Supreme Court, Justice Allon Gilon, asking for permission to retire with full benefits, or to receive enlarged severance pay.

The four, who have been in the courts' service for 14 to 32 years, say they cannot make a living. Allon has passed their letter on to the courts' administration.

## Bogus mailman robs Ramat Gan woman

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
TEL AVIV. — The "mailman" carrying a "registered letter" bore ill tidings for a woman who opened her front door to him yesterday morning.

He stepped inside the home at 8 Sderot Avraham in Ramat Gan, pulled out a knife, and gagged and tied Miriam Caspi, 40, before making off with IS1,200 in jewelry and cash, police said.

The man who wore a stocking on his face, tricked her into opening the door, by claiming he was a mailman with a registered letter for her.

Caspi managed to free herself and call the police after the man made his getaway — on the family's bicycle.

## Youth forces boy to rob and yield proceeds

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
A 17-year-old youth, accused of forcing a younger boy to rob a monastery and then demanding part of the proceeds, was remanded for five days yesterday by the Jerusalem Magistrates Court.

Police arrested the youth on Saturday, after the younger boy had complained he was being threatened. The boy told the police that the suspect had pressured him into robbing the St. John's Monastery in Ein Kerem two weeks ago. He admitted to stealing several hundred shekels.

## Citations awarded for beautifying Israel

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Eight citations were awarded at Beit Hanassi yesterday for contributions toward making Israel beautiful.

At a ceremony held in the presence of President Yitzhak Navon, the following received awards from the Council for a Beautiful Israel:

Shulamit Shimron, for encouraging the beautification of the youth and community centre in Dimona; Rav-Seren Sidney Sofer, for improving the appearance of his army camp; Aviva Uriel, for teaching enhancement of the environment in Kfar Shmaryahu; Dr. Ian Froman, director of the Israel Tennis Centre, for improving appreciation of the environment among the pupils; a hair-dressing salon at 33 Rehov Dizengoff in Tel Aviv, for its hand-made decorations and hanging plants; the house committee of 100 Rehov Ussishkin in Tel Aviv, for improving the appearance of its building; residents of Rehov Alon in Yavne, and residents of Metulla's Rehov Harishonim, for rehabilitating their respective streets.

Ofira Navon, wife of the president, was awarded a special certificate for her educational activities on behalf of the council.

## Poriya opens comprehensive maternity facility

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
A 33-bed maternity ward named for the late Lord Ashdown was dedicated yesterday at the Poriya government hospital near Tiberias, the Health Ministry announced. Ashdown, a former joint treasurer of the Conservative Party of Great Britain, was extremely active in Jewish affairs.

The unit cost about IS40 million and took three years to complete. It includes intensive-care facilities for the newborn, an emergency room for birth complications and a neonatal department.

## Press blamed for distorting drug situation in schools

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — There is probably no high school in the country in which at least one or two pupils have not smoked drugs, the director of the Education Ministry's Instruction Department, Mordechai Peled, said yesterday. He was speaking at a high school principals' conference on drug use in schools, held at the Bikurci Ha'itim Youth Centre here.

Knesset Education Committee chairman MK Ora Namer, Nitzav Avraham Turgeman the Tel Aviv district police commander, and representatives of the ministry and the municipality spoke at the conference, giving some 40 high school principals from the Tel Aviv area data about drug use in schools.

The conference was intended to provide an answer to the "distorted picture" presented by the press about drugs in schools, following the debate on this issue in the Knesset committee. Alliance school principal Ilan Tal-Nir said the things said in committee and related publications from police sources constituted a "slap in the face" to high-school principals, who were made to look irresponsible when it

came to dealing with drugs in their schools.

Considerable criticism was directed at the press, not only for publishing reports from the police and the Education Committee, but for creating, in articles written in contemporary slang, "an atmosphere among pupils" which is conducive to smoking drugs.

One principal quoted an article from Friday's *Yediot Aharonot* describing marijuana as "a cigarette filled with goodies, which is passed from hand to hand." He quoted from another article, about "having a high time in Nuweiba."

Namer warned against turning the press or the police into the scapegoats of the drug problem. She said the actual figures of dope users in schools was not as important as the existence of the practice, which has two alarming aspects: the tragedy of the family whose child becomes addicted to drugs, and the connections formed between drug-smoking pupils and the underworld.

The Education Ministry yesterday announced that it was setting up a team headed by the director-general to re-examine the ministry's policy and procedures for handling drug use among youth.

## 35 suspected drug dealers rounded up

REHOVOT (Itim). — A force of 120 policemen, reinforced by border policemen and Civil Guards, yesterday swept through 40 homes in the southern region in a pre-dawn raid on suspected drug peddlars.

Thirty-five suspects were arrested on the basis of information provided by a police plant, who worked undercover among drug sellers and users for eight months, police said.

One of those detained was a Ramle doctor, who allegedly sold prescriptions for narcotics to all who were willing to pay, police said.

A similar large-scale roundup of drug sellers in the area six months ago left a vacuum in the ranks of pushers, and yesterday's raid was designed to capture "the second generation" of drug peddlars who appeared to fill the gap, police said.

Five of those arrested were on the police "most-wanted" list, and searches of their homes turned up

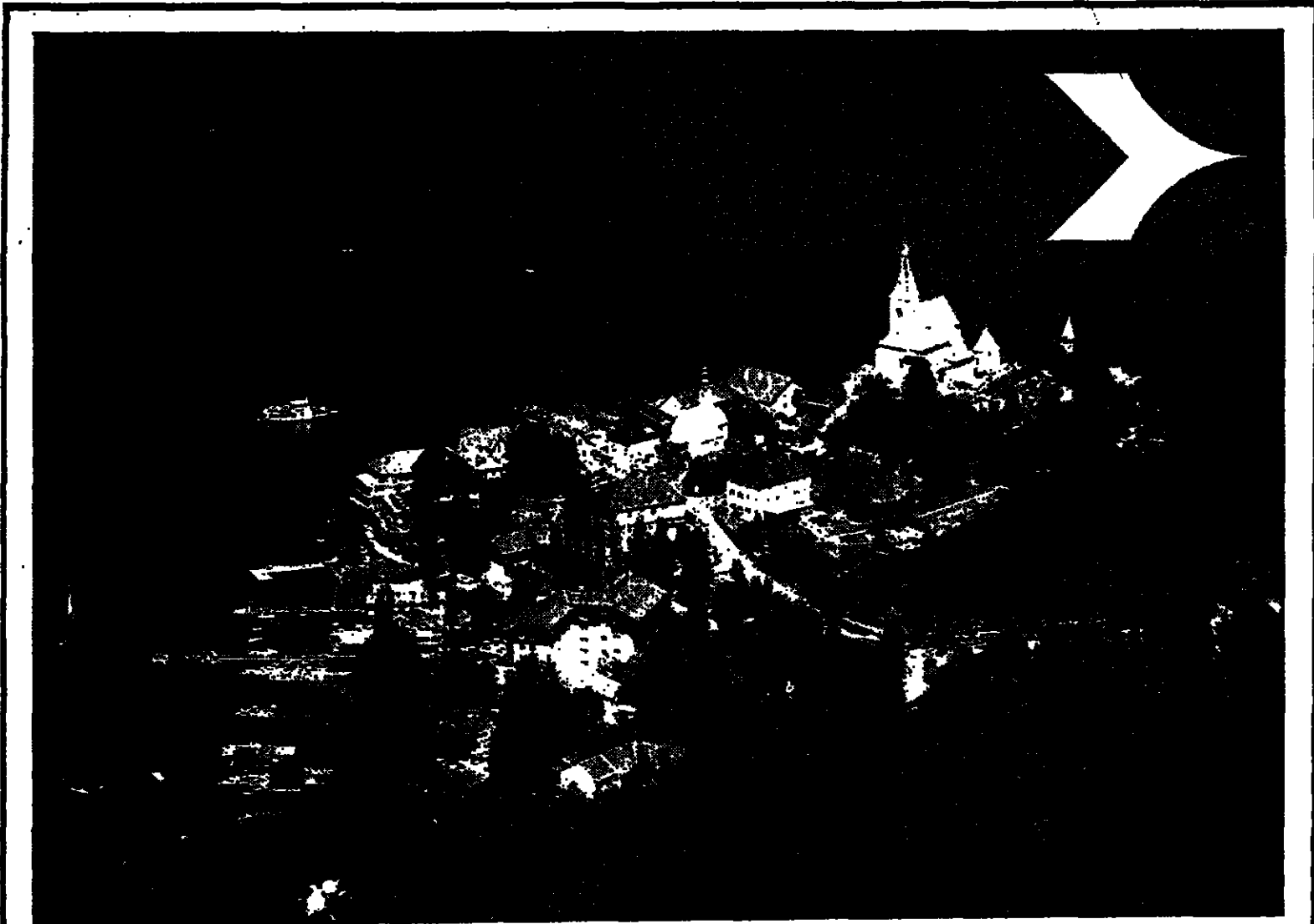
100 grams of hashish, Adolan pills (methadone), traces of heroin and quantities of other narcotics, police said.

All of the suspects have already been before a Ramle Magistrates Court for extension of their remands, after police made a special arrangement with the court to hear the cases early yesterday morning.

## 2 convicts freed under Jerusalem Day amnesty

RAMLE (Itim). — Two prisoners were released from the detention centre here on Friday under the partial amnesty declared to honour Jerusalem Day.

Both of those released had been sentenced on charges of fraud — one to 4½ years in jail and the other to an 18-month term.



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Entrance through Gate No. 4  
The Public is invited.



## Hard-hitting call for peace by pope

COVENTRY, England (Reuters). — Pope John Paul declared yesterday that the scale and horror of modern warfare "makes it totally unacceptable as a means of settling differences between nations."

The pope, on the third day of his visit to Britain, made his strongest plea yet for world peace when he spoke to a cheering crowd of 350,000 at Coventry airport, converted for the day into an open-air cathedral.

He said the world was disfigured by war and violence, people were living under the shadow of a nuclear

nightmare, yet everywhere they longed for peace.

Since his arrival in Britain on Friday, the 62-year-old pontiff has issued heartfelt appeals for an end to the Falklands conflict between Britain and Argentina.

Yesterday he came to a city devastated by German bombs in World War II and now mourning the loss of the destroyer HMS Coventry in the Falklands fighting last week.

"War should belong to the tragic past, to history. It should find no

place on humanity's agenda for the future," said the pope, who flew to Coventry after addressing 25,000 fellow Poles in London.

The pope, who lived through the horrors of Nazi-occupied Poland, has often made plain his preoccupation with the threat of war, but his Coventry speech was particularly hard-hitting.

The pope went from Coventry to Liverpool, scene of Protestant-Catholic clashes over four centuries and bloody urban rioting last summer.



Lt. Col. Herbert Jones, 42, British paratrooper commander killed last week in the Falklands fighting. (UPI telephoto)

## Goose Green surrender: 'Bitter fighting, delicate talks'

LONDON (AP). — At one end of the Goose Green settlement, a Union Jack now flies high above a school, and at the other end the flag of the 2nd Battalion of the Parachute Regiment, BBC correspondent Robert Fox reported in an eyewitness account broadcast here yesterday.

After a whole day's bitter fighting and a morning's delicate surrender negotiation, battle victory came early last Friday afternoon.

Women handed round cups of tea in souvenir royal wedding mugs, children carried round tins of candy and cookies to the young

paratroopers, their faces still camouflaged and eyes bleary with fatigue.

For nearly a month, 114 people had been housed by the Argentines in a community hall. Their houses had been raided, with furniture smashed, and the store had been looted. Now Argentine prisoners are being made to clean up the settlement.

The Argentine troops appeared underfed, and in one house used by pilots it seemed the officers were hoarding tinned food.

The surrender came after a 14-hour battle the previous day. It

began before dawn, a full battalion assault on an enemy twice as numerous as expected, almost 1,500 in all and very well dug in.

The attack began under naval gunfire and shells lit the sky as the paras, as the paratroopers are known, moved forward.

We were told that the battalion commander, Lt. Col. Herbert Jones — always called "H" by his men — had been shot by machine-guns as he led a platoon attack against machine gun nests which had held up the battalion for over half an hour.

The architect of the surrender was acting C.O., Maj. Keeble. At midday we walked the Goose Green airfield.

Within two hours the senior officer, Air Vice-Commodore Wilson Doser Pedroza, had agreed to surrender. He paraded his airmen and gave a political speech. After singing the national anthem, they threw their guns and helmets to the ground.

When the 800 soldiers paraded, there were whoops of joy from one group as they threw their weapons down. They were glad to be going home, they said.

## Afghan insurgents claim heavy Soviet casualties

ISLAMABAD (AP). — Afghan rebels claimed on Saturday to have killed 700 Soviet and Afghan regular army troops and knocked out 21 jet fighters and helicopters during a major battle in the Panchir valley, a key resistance stronghold.

Other sources corroborated the report, which was issued in the name of Prof. Buranuddin Rabani, the third highest-ranking leader in the Afghan resistance hierarchy and defence committee chairman of a group representing seven Islamic parties.

A spokesman for Rabani said the partisans also destroyed 38 tanks and armoured personnel carriers, 15 trucks and other heavy-duty vehicles and three mobile bridges.

In addition, 300 Afghan soldiers loyal to the Soviet-backed Babrak Karmal regime were said to have surrendered.

The rebels suffered a similar number of casualties, many of them villagers and Tajik tribesmen caught in heavy bombing at the mouth of the valley.

Western sources expressed doubt about the high figures, but gave some credence to the rebel claims since successes rarely are made in the name of top-ranking commanders unless they can be checked.

Heavy fighting at Panchir, 100 kilometres from Kabul, has been reported since late April, when local field commanders, anxious to keep casualties down, ordered 90,000 villagers evacuated from the area.

## Spain becomes NATO member

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — Spain yesterday became the 16th member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) when it ratified the defence pact at the State Department.

The Spanish charge d'affaires in Washington, Alonso Alvarez de Toledo, deposited the formal instrument of ratification with Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel.

An embassy spokesman said the document was signed by Spain's King Juan Carlos in accordance with the requirements of the NATO treaty.

The NATO secretariat told the

Spanish government Saturday its membership application had been processed by the pact's 15 members. The final step was the formal presentation of the document in Washington.

Ratification of the treaty will allow Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo to attend this week's Bonn summit as a full NATO government leader. The issue had been one of his top priorities since he took office in February 1981.

A senior U.S. official said Spain's membership would "materially, morally, and strategically strengthen" the alliance.

## Survivors of Lod massacre gather on 10th anniversary

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico (AP). — Ten years after terrorists' bullets ripped apart their pilgrims' holiday in Israel, Puerto Rican Christians who survived the Lod (Ben-Gurion) Airport massacre joined on Saturday with an Israeli doctor who had treated them in a poignant reunion hosted by this city's Jewish community.

They were commemorating the attack May 30, 1972, in which three Japanese gunmen acting for a radical Palestinian group pulled out machine guns and grenades at the airport and opened fire on passengers from an Air France flight which had just landed.

The 26 dead included 16 Chris-

tian pilgrims, most from country towns here. About 30 more Puerto Ricans were among the 50 injured.

"It's not just their problem. It's not just our problem. It's the problem of all of us," Rabbi Claudio Kaiser told his congregation on Friday night.

On Friday night, pediatrician Moshe Gross arrived at San Juan's international airport, greeted by Ernesto Delgado, one of the victims he had treated 10 years before.

When Gross first saw Delgado at a Tel Aviv hospital in 1972, the Puerto Rican had been shot in the eye, liver and chest, and his face had been shattered by a grenade.

## Assassinated mayor's successor slain

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador (AP). — A woman just appointed to succeed an assassinated mayor and her 10-year-old daughter were shot to death in the kitchen of their home in Chinameca, Christian Democratic Party officials said on Saturday.

They said three members of the town's Civil Guard, a rural security force under the command of the Defence Ministry, had been arrested in the case and police were searching for eight other suspects.

Evangeline Garcia de Lopez, a 47-year-old widow and Christian,

Democratic councilwoman, had been named on Friday by the town council in Chinameca to succeed to Teodoro Eleazar Cruz as the mayor.

The 11 attackers were said to have burst into her home.

Cruz had been pulled from a bus May 13 by 11 armed men and shot. He was one of three Christian Democratic mayors assassinated this month.

The killing of Garcia de Lopez, who would have taken office today, brought to 12 the number of activists and officials in the moderate party slain since May 12.

## 10 killed as tornado rips through Illinois

MARION, Illinois (AP). — At least 10 people were killed and more than 100 were injured on Saturday when tornadoes smashed through three southern Illinois counties, authorities said.

Eight bodies were seen by reporters at a temporary morgue set up at Marion Junior High School

and two other victims were reported dead on arrival at Marion Memorial Hospital.

An 8.30 p.m. curfew was declared for this community of 13,000 and Governor James Thompson declared the region a disaster area. State officials said they would ask for a federal declaration.

Thirty National Guardsmen were sent to the area to help prevent looting, said E. E. Jones, Illinois emergency services and disaster agency director, who saw the tornado himself.

Police said many people were trapped in the rubble of homes and businesses that were demolished.

## Sports

### Lendl crashes to the 'new Borg'

PARIS (Reuters). — The absence of Swedish maestro Bjorn Borg became less acute at the French tennis open yesterday. His 17-year-old compatriot Mats Wilander, who has been hailed as "the new Borg," confirmed something of his reputation by producing one of the major upsets of the tennis year when he ousted second-seeded Ivan Lendl. The Czech crashed out in a four-hour fourth round battle, Wilander winning 4-6, 7-5, 3-6, 6-4, 6-2.

The young Swede, a semi-finalist at the Italian Open earlier this month, wore out the hard-hitting Lendl, who before this match had won a staggering 92 of his last 96 matches.

"I was missing the timing on my forehand and it upset me. I did my best, but I was outplayed," Lendl said afterwards. "He was playing very deep and I had no chances to go to the net."

Asked if Wilander could really become the successor to Borg, the winner here last year and four times prior to that, Lendl said laconically: "He still has three more matches to win. It will be very difficult both physically and mentally."

Other results: Men — John McEnroe (U.S.) 6-3, 6-4, 6-2 vs. Jimmy Connors (U.S.); Boris Becker (Germ.) 6-3, 6-2 vs. Mats Wilander (Swe.); Andre Agassi (U.S.) 6-4, 2-6, 6-4, 2-6 vs. Ivan Lendl (Czech); Tracy Austin (U.S.) 6-1, 6-2 vs. Venus Williams (U.S.).

### Indians ignore impressive run

NEW YORK (AP). — Lamar Hoyt saw his 14-game winning streak come to an end as Cleveland pounded out 14 hits and beat the Chicago White Sox's right-hander 5-2 in Saturday's American baseball action.

Miguel Dilone was the star of the Indians' attack with a single, a double and his first home run in three years. Hoyt, 9-1, went the distance for the fourth time this year, despite yielding all 14 hits.

Dilone led off the Cleveland first with a double, moved to third on Toby Harrah's bunt single and scored on Mike Hargrove's sacrifice fly. He made it 5-0 in the fourth innings when he homered.

In other American League games, Ken Griffey's RBI double snapped a 4-4 tie in the ninth inning and sent the New York Yankees on their way to a second late victory over the Minnesota Twins. The Twins who lost 6-4, had the satisfaction of executing the first triple play of the season in the second inning.

American League: Cleveland 5, Chicago 2; New York 6, Minnesota 4; Detroit 7, Oakland 4; California 5, Milwaukee 4, 10 innings; Baltimore 3, Toronto 1, and 10-11; Kansas City 14, Texas 4, 10 innings; Seattle 4, Boston 1, 10 innings; Los Angeles 10, Cincinnati 1; Chicago 3, Los Angeles 2, 13 innings; Philadelphia 1, Atlanta 0; San Francisco 9, Pittsburgh 5; Houston 5, New York 2; San Diego 4, St. Louis 2.

### Argentina to play come what may

ALICANTE, Spain (AP). — Argentine national coach Cesar Menotti said his team would play against any of the British teams in the World Soccer Cup if it came to it, but he harshly criticized Great Britain's "Colonialism" in a press conference here over the weekend.

"We would surely play," he said. "We cannot win sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falklands) on the soccer field."

Menotti, speaking at his team's headquarters as they prepare to defend their title in the tournament now only two weeks away, lashed out at Britain, saying it "lacked humanity and respect," but the Argentine coach added that politics should not enter into international sports competitions.

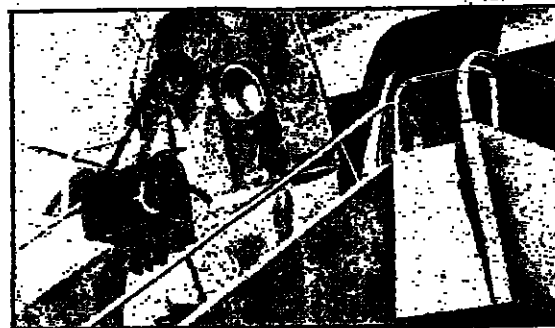
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## ENTERTAINMENT

### TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL: 8.15 Citizenship 7.9 8.35 English 6 9.00 Language and Communication 3.5 9.25 Science 5-6 10.10 English 7 10.30 Programme for Kindergarteners 11.00 Math/Geometry 6 11.15 English 5 11.35 Geography 7-9 12.05 English 8 12.30 Literature 13.05 High School Science 15.00 Programme for Kindergarteners: English 5-6; Math 5-6; The Happy Band (repeats) 16.00 Laurel and Hardy 16.20 Tangram — TV game 16.30 Authority Tales — with Shlomo Nitzan 17.00 The Front Line CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES: 17.30 The Enchanted Castle. Part 4 of a 6-part series based on the book by Edith Nesbit. Three children on holiday meet a sleeping princess. 18.20 Harold Lloyd — comic excerpts from Harold Lloyd's films ARABIC LANGUAGE programmes: 18.30 News Roundup 18.32 Sport 19.27 Programme Trailer 19.30 News HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at 20.00 with a news roundup

20.03 Get Out of It — TV game 20.30 Eight Thirty — art and entertainment magazine 21.30 Mabot Newsreel 21.30 Second Look — news commentary and analysis 22.05 Oppenheimer. Part 5 of 7-part series about Julius Robert Oppenheimer, American nuclear physicist and "father" of the atomic bomb. Starring Jara Sheldon. Sam Waterston and Jean Tislock 23.05 This is the Time — Ram Eron's interview and entertainment hour 23.55 News JORDAN TV (unofficial): 17.30 Cartoons 18.00 French Hour 18.25 (JTV 3) Little House on the Prairie 19.00 News in French 19.30 News in Hebrew 20.00 News in Arabic 20.30 M.A.S.H. 21.10 Brack Report. 22.00 News in English 22.15 Hart to Hart

ON THE AIR

First Programme 6.11 Musical Clock 7.07 (stereo): Morning Music — Khamu: The Battle between David and Goliath (Philip Jones Ensemble); 2 Songs from the

Renaissance; Mozart: Pieces from K.1; 2 Renaissance Songs; Devienne: Flute Concerto (Rampal) 8.05 (stereo): Morning Concert — Corelli: Trumpet Sonata; Haydn: 2 Canzonettes (Robin Weiss); Wesel-Capoulo; Spohr: Clarinet Concerto (Amnon Zaslav); Jerusalem Symphony No.5 (Martha); Dvorak: Piano Quintet, Op.81 (Lar Lovell); Y. Perlman, S. Mintz, D. Benayahu, Y. Harnani; Tchaikovsky: Nutcracker Suite No.1; Hummel: La Contemplanze (Peter Wallfisch); D. Gabrieli: Sonata for Trumpet and String 10.05 (stereo): Chopin: Introduction and Polonaise brilliant (Simca Holed, Jonathan Zak); Polish Songs; Allegro con fuoco, and Scherzo from Trio (Beaux Arts); Polonaise Fantasia Op.61 11.00 Sephardic songs 11.15 Elementary School Broadcasts 11.30 Education for All 12.05 (stereo): The Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra; Mendel Rodan conducting; Tchaikovsky: 3 Pieces for Orchestra; Tchaikovsky: Suite No.3 13.00 (stereo): Holst: Somerset Rhapsody (Norman Del Mar); Lisponov: Rhapsody on Ukrainian Tunes; Lisz: Malagasy Rhapsody; Lalo: Rhapsody for Orchestra 14.10 Children's programmes 16.05 (stereo): Chopin: Fantasy in F Minor, Op.49 (Galia Riebert); Respiant: Three Pictures by Botticelli 16.35 Music Magazine 17.35 Programmes for Olim

20.05 Everyman's University 20.35 (stereo): Karlsruhe Symphony Orchestra (Sued-West Deutscher Rundfunk); Kasimierz Kurd, Poland, conductor; Radu Lupu, piano — Gluck: Iphigenie in Aulis Overture; Mozart: Concerto in B-flat, K.456; Prokofiev: Symphony No.5; North-German Radio — Mira Zakai, alto; Debora Richards, piano — Mussorgsky: Sans Soleil; Purcell: Ode 22.30 Reflections on the portion of the week by Prof. Yeshayahu Leibowitz 23.00 (stereo): The Life of Gustav Mahler 00.10 (stereo): The Chamber Choir of Radio Finland; Harold Andersen conducting; Music by Ardi Salimans, Regis Johansson, Toho Kala

Second Programme 7.00 This Morning — news magazine 8.10 All Shades of the Network 12.05 Road Safety Corner 12.30 Law and Justice Magazine 13.00 Midway — music, news commentary 14.10 In a Minor Tone 16.10 From Here to There — immigration matters 17.10 Health and Medicine Magazine 18.07 Of Men and Figures 18.47 Bible Reading — Psalms 43 19.00 Today 20.10 Sabbath songs 22.05 Literary Magazine 23.05 The Second Half — women's magazine

### Army Programme

6.10 Morning Sounds 6.30 University on the Air — Prof. Perry Kreizer lectures on Endocrinology 7.07 "707" 8.05 IDF Morning Newsreel 9.05 Right Now — with Kobi Meidan 11.05 Golden Oldies 12.05 Israeli Summer — with Eli Yisraeli 14.05 Two Hours 16.05 Four in the Afternoon 17.05 IDF Evening Newsreel 18.05 Army and Defence Magazine 19.05 Music Magazine 21.00 Mabot Newsreel 21.35 University on the Air (repeats) 23.05 Soldiers Talk (repeats) 00.05 Night Birds — songs, chat

### NEWS COMMENTARY

Second Programme Following the news at 7 a.m. 1 p.m. and 7 p.m. Army Radio: Following the 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. news.

### CINEMAS

JERUSALEM 4, 7, 9  
Eden: Christine F. 4, 7, 9.15; Edison: Rada 4, 8; Kfir: The Boat 4, 6.45, 9.15; Mitchell: Padre Padrone 7, 9.15; Orly: Buddy Buddy; Orion: Neighbors; Orna: So Fine; Rona: Beau Pere; Samsar:

Montenegro 7.30, 9.15; Haydn Ha'man: On Golden Pond 6.45, 9; Israel Museum: The Circus 3.30; Cinema One: Double feature: Splendor in the grass; Last Tango in Paris 9.15; Cinema Palace: The Uprising 7; Diabolo Menche 9.30

TEL AVIV 4.30, 7.15, 9.30  
Alhambra: The Amateurs; Ben-Yehuda: On Golden Pond 4.30, 7, 9.30; Cinema 1: Rada 4.30, 7.15; Who's Life is Anyway? 4.30, 7.05, 9.35; Cinema 3: First Monday in October 4.40, 7.25, 9.40; Cinema 4: Straw Dogs 10.30, 1.30, 4.25, 7.05, 9.35; Cinema 5: Atlantic City U.S.A. 10.30, 1.30, 4.25, 7, 9.25; Cinema One: So Fine; Cinema Two: Memphis; Doral Interiors 7.15, 9.30; Drive-In: French Lieutenant's Woman 9.30; Sex Film 12.15; Eden: I The Jury; Gat: Buddy Buddy; Gerdon: Continental Divide 5.30, 7.30, 9.30; Host: Cannonball Run; Limor: Butterfly; Mazon: A Star is Born 4.30, 7, 9.30; Mizrabi: Mad Max; Orly: Christine F. 4.30, 7, 9.30; Paris: Non at Seventeen 10.12, 4, 7.15, 9.30; Peer: Honky Tonk; Samsar: Type 4.30, 7, 9.30; Tebule: Gallipoli 4.30, 7, 9.30; Tel Aviv: The Boat 4.30, 7, 9.30; Tel Aviv: Marmosa: From Mao to Mozart; Zafra: Orde a Vac; Tamar: Rocky Horror Picture Show 7.15, 9.30

HAIFA 4, 6.45, 9  
Amphitheatre: The Chase; Amami: First Monday in October 6.45, 9; Arnon: Rada 4, 8; Azazel: The Boat 4.30, 7, 9; Cinema:

Non at Seventeen; Coker: Silver Dream Racer 10, 2, 6; Queen Hunter 12, 4, 8; Keren Orr: On Golden Pond; Meriah: Arthur 6.45, 9; Orna: Christine F.; Orion: Girl on the Run 10, 2, 4, 9; Orly: French Lieutenant's Woman; Peer: Gallipoli; Rona: Mad Max; Shavit: Fort Apache (the Bronx 6.45, 9); Halls: Cinema Palace: Un chapeau de paille d'Italie 7; The Pawnbroker 9.30

RAMAT GAN  
Arnon: Rada 4, 8; Lily: Charlot of Fire 7.15, 9.30; Orna: Buddy Buddy 4, 7, 9.30; Orly: Arthur 7.15, 9.15; Ramat Gan: Guns of Navarone 6, 9.30

HERZLIYA  
David: The Professionals 4, 7, 9.15; David: Charlot of Fire 7.15, 9.15

PETAN TIKVA  
Shalom: The Professionals 7, 9.15

NETANYA  
Ezer: Cannonball Run 7, 9.15

RAMAT HASHARON  
Star: Flying High 7.15; American Gigolo 9.30

HOD HASHARON  
Barak: Wuthering Heights 7.15; Shit Crazy 9.30

HOLON  
Savoy: The Boat 4.30, 7, 9



# Ship To Shore

## British Troops Advance; Peace Efforts Do Not

The test of endurance between the Royal Navy and the Argentine Air Force evolved last week into a fierce fight on ground, sea and air for the main Falkland Island.

"It's all in the hands of the military men now," said an aide to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. British troops who landed on East Falkland May 21 broke out of their beachhead at San Carlos Bay and captured the twin southern outposts of Darwin and Goose Green, the Defense Ministry said. Troops there and others at San Carlos reportedly began advancing in classic pincer style toward the capital, Stanley, where the main Argentine garrison was based.

Even before the latest ground action, the toll was high — more than 100 dead or missing for Britain, more than 400 for Argentina. Britain had lost five ships, three of them last week — a destroyer, a frigate and a civilian container ship requisitioned to carry more Harrier jets to the fleet. Britain claims to have destroyed more than 60 aircraft, a third of Argentina's operational force, while losing only 15 planes. Argentina admits to losing a few more than 20 planes and claims to have inflicted almost the same damage on Britain.

As the casualties mounted, the Thatcher Government hardened its conditions for a cease-fire. There was no more talk about the mutual withdrawal of forces and interim United Nations administration almost negotiated by Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. "Talks with the Secretary General will be about unequivocal withdrawal of Argentine forces," Mrs. Thatcher told the House of Commons. "We have now gone into the islands to do what I believe the islanders wish — to repossess them [and] restore British administration."

With Argentina apparently equally resolved to hold the archipelago it seized April 2, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar was understandably not optimistic when the Security Council asked him to try again "when war is in full swing, the early achievement of a cease-fire and a return to negotiations is certain to be of extreme difficulty," he said.

Pope John Paul II, beginning the first visit by a pontiff to England, also urged both sides to "put aside the weapons of death." But his appeal seemed about as likely to be heeded as his visit was likely to heal the 450-

That sounded like praise compared to Nicaragua's assertion that "the Reagan Administration is responsible for all the deaths that have taken place."

Washington has sold Britain air-to-air and surface-to-air missiles, bombs, rockets and ammunition. In Savannah, Ga., the Navy was refitting an off-rig maintenance ship for Britain's use in the South Atlantic.

Argentina's arms sources and supply lines were murky. A Johannesburg newspaper reported that Uruguayan planes were being loaded with crates marked "tractor spares" that actually contained weapons for Buenos Aires. In New York, Federal authorities detained a Ecuadorean cargo plane that, according to a senior Administration official, contained Israeli bombs and ammunition for Argentina. Israel denied this and the plane took off on Friday.

## Going Buggy On the Budget

It was not a good week for political parties, especially the Republican. On Capitol Hill, where the House worked four long days and nights only to reject seven versions of a Federal budget for 1983, party unity fared less well than stubborn conviction and election-year anxiety. Among the American public, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll, Congressmen, particularly those who support President Reagan's positions, are faring less well than Mr. Reagan.

In the House, there had been less ease from the start about prospects for a budget, but at least the principal factions had looked clear. There were the regular Republicans and the conservative Democratic "boll wevils," who with the help of Republican moderates called "gypsy moths" gave the White House its victory on fiscal 1982 last year. There were the regular Democrats and their majority resolution. And there was a coalition of centrist Democrats and moderate Republicans, troublesome to the leadership of both parties, with a resolution proposing the least military and the most social spending — and the lowest deficit.

The sting came Tuesday, with the introduction of a new classification in the terminology of the chamber, "yellow jackets." These are conservative Republicans unhappy with all sides' deficits — and with the President, who endorsed the \$110 billion deficit implicitly approved by the Senate two weeks ago, and lobbied for the House Republican resolution and its \$101.6 billion budget gap.

With four resolutions (three liberal and one balanced-budget) rejected and only a third of 68 amendments acted on, the conservatives broke ranks, voting "present" rather than "nay" on an amendment the Democratic leadership had abandoned the night before. It would have transferred \$4.8 billion from defense to Medicare, which every budget around was cutting back. Twelve hours later, the provision had been attached to all resolutions still on the floor, each had been rejected and the House had gone for Memorial Day. (Trying again, page 4.)

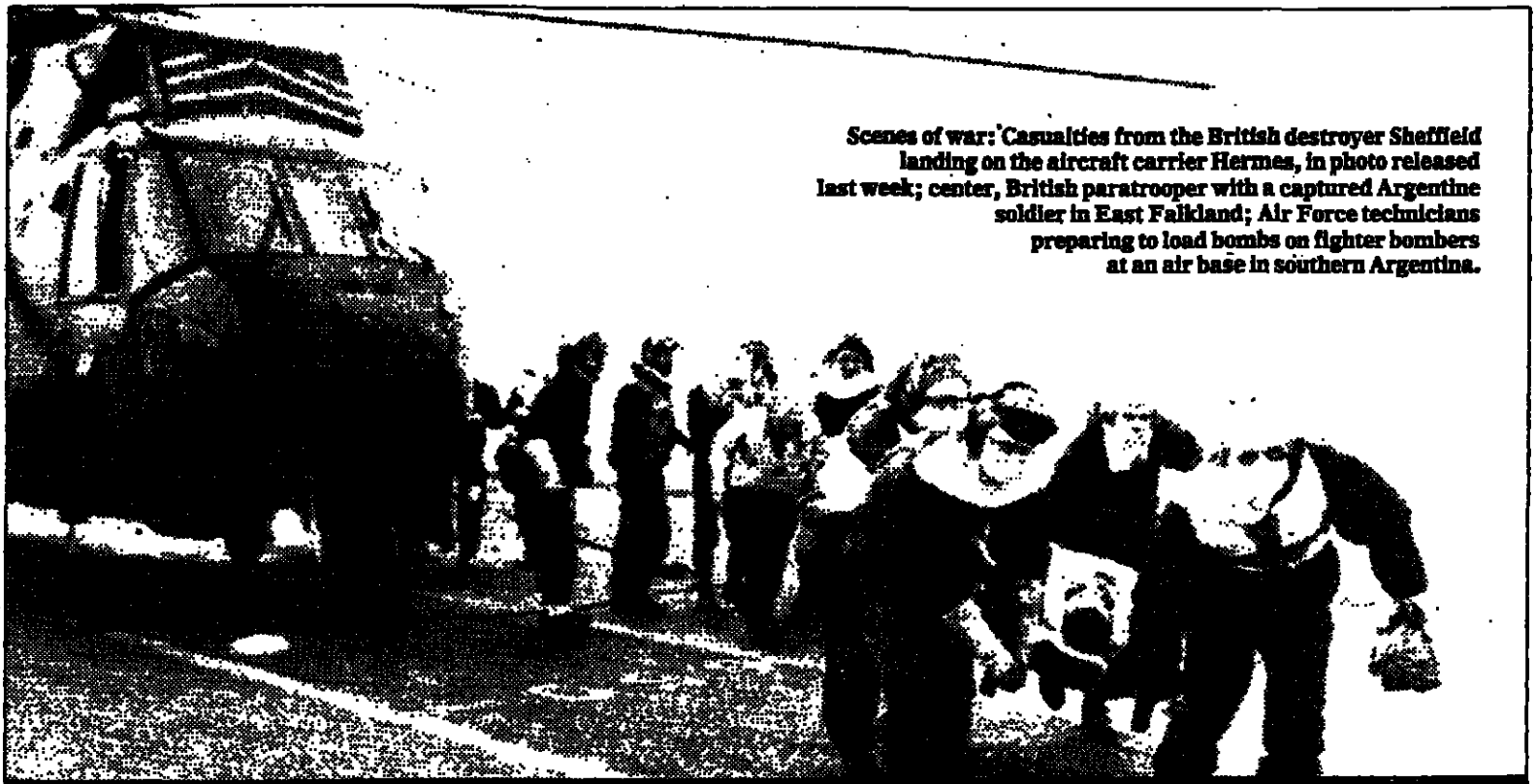
The Times/CBS News poll, taken before the House's unhappy time last week, wasn't likely to add to the cheer of Congressmen home taking soundings. While the Administration's effort to claim victory over inflation has gone unnoticed or disbelieved — 7 Americans in 10 think prices are going up as fast as they were a year ago or faster — 52 percent expect Mr. Reagan's economic program to succeed eventually. That is no pointer to which way to jump.

## Senate Warning To San Salvador

Although the State Department said last week it was still "uncertain" about El Salvador's intentions toward land reform, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee feared the worst. The Republican-controlled committee voted 12-0 to cut \$100 million from the Administration's \$168 million request for military aid to El Salvador for next year if the new Government changed the land reform program "in a manner detrimental to the rights of the beneficiaries."

Eighty-five percent of the peasant families meant to benefit from the United States-designed program live or work on properties that have now been excluded from reform by El Salvador's rightist-dominated Constituent Assembly. On May 20, the legislators suspended a land-to-the-tiller law allowing sharecroppers to buy up to 17 acres of land they worked. José Antonio Morales Ehrlich, a member of the junta replaced by the March elections, said more than 5,000 peasant families have been evicted from their small plots since then.

As a result of one of the Assembly's



Scenes of war: Casualties from the British destroyer Sheffield landing on the aircraft carrier Hermes, in photo released last week; center, British paratrooper with a captured Argentine soldier in East Falkland; Air Force technicians preparing to load bombs on fighter bombers at an air base in southern Argentina.

Associated Press; United Press International



# Superpowers Feel the Heat Of Costly 'Brush-Fire' Wars

By FLORA LEWIS

TWO quick grabs for land, gravely miscalculated as cheap and easy, have bogged down into raging wars still without prospect of solution. The battle for the Falkland Islands and the fighting between Iran and Iraq are what used to be called "brush-fire wars" a generation ago — not directly involving the East-West confrontation but weighing on superpower interests with threats to upset regional power balances.

Already the United States and the Soviet Union have begun resupplying belligerents in fear of the consequences of smashing victories or defeats. Already there have been peculiar realignments among other countries in the two areas as short-term worries overwhelm longer-range policy affinities. In both regions, the assumptions behind the idea of a "strategic consensus" among pro-American states against pro-Soviet ones look more unreal than ever as narrow national interests come to the fore.

It was a widespread perception of anachronism — of reversion to disreputable habits supposedly discarded in the nuclear age — that made so many people at first laugh off Argentina's challenge to Britain and Britain's massive response. The sense of incredulity was increased by evidence that the Falklands fighting might so easily have been avoided given modern intelligence and communications. Both Britain and the United States reportedly had word of Argentine planning to occupy the islands as early as November. But the Argentine junta was judged to be posturing. In any event, the islands seemed too small a matter to be worth major conflict.

Statesmen were preoccupied with global thoughts about bigger issues. Washington was encouraging Argentina's militant anti-Communism as part of hemispheric defense, promoting Argentine training and supply roles against guerrillas in Central America and parts of South America. The idea, as some came to call it, was to use the Argentines as "the United States' Cubans." Meanwhile, the Argentine junta gravely underestimated both Britain's willingness to defend a colonial vestige and America's continued priority for the Atlantic alliance.

## Latin Americans Take Sides

So the bumble began. The Reagan Administration, hoping for a pragmatic solution without cost to either its alliance or hemispheric policies, set out to mediate. Other Latin American countries began lining up according to their own appetites and fears. Thus the right-wing Argentine dictatorship received support from democratic Venezuela, which claims a large chunk of Guyana, some support from democratic Peru which has border quarrels with Chile and Ecuador, from right-wing Guatemala which claims Belize, from Communist Cuba and leftist Nicaragua which back insurgents in El Salvador and Honduras against United States-aided regimes.

The European Community, with later defections by Ireland (presumably because of Ulster) and Italy (because of ethnic ties to Argentina), coalesced firmly behind Britain with sanctions. But with the unprecedented unity of political decision came growing irritation at Britain's attempt to extract greater returns from the Common Market budget. Britain quickly ceded temporarily on the budget issue to avoid two crises at once. But the continental grumbled louder than ever their doubts of London's sincerity as a member of their club. France even hinted that it might be better to edge the British into some special status as less than a full participant. The wounds will throb the next time the issues arise.

It won't be clear until after a settlement what the politics of the war have done to United States relations with Latin America and the third world (which Argentina traditionally disdained, considering itself more akin to Europe, but which it is now courting). The war has also

drawn attention to the fact that while the Falklands haven't much strategic importance now, they could be vital if the Panama Canal were ever denied to the United States or if the Soviet Union or others violated the treaty forbidding militarization of the Antarctic.

In a similar way, the war in the Persian Gulf is breaking up patterns of international relations and forcing both Washington and Moscow to make risky choices.

The fighting began more deliberately. While Iraq renewed territorial claims it had earlier settled with the Shah, the real issue was regimes. But instead of toppling Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, as intended, Iraq's invasion only consolidated Iran's turbulent revolutionary rule; Iran's "holy warriors" have now pushed the Iraqi invaders almost all the way back into Iraq.

To his proclaimed "sacred duty" of overthrowing Iraq's leftist President Saddam Hussein, Ayatollah Khomeini has added a chilling threat to Arab states aiding Iraq. "I warn the governments of the region that our country is now speaking from a position of strength," he said in a message broadcast by Teheran Radio last week. "If you stop taking orders from the United States, we will only show gratitude. . . . Don't do anything that would oblige us to fulfill the duty imposed upon us by the Koran." Arab leaders, whether secular moderates such as Jordan's King Hussein and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, or the traditional religious leaders of the Saudi royal family and the Gulf sheiks, may be targeted by radical fundamentalists inspired by Ayatollah Khomeini if they help his enemy.

## Contradictory Alliances In the Mideast

The lines being drawn in the Middle East are even more vividly contradictory than those in Latin America. Iran is fully backed by Syria, whose Baathist socialist leader, Hafez al-Assad, recently massacred between 5,000 and 10,000 rebellious fundamentalists and razed their city of Hama, and who, like Iraq's leader, has relied on arms from Moscow. Israel, which unlike conservative Arabs (and apparently, the Reagan Administration), has not changed its assessment of an Iraqi menace, is helping Iran clandestinely.

Jordan, Egypt, and to a lesser extent the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia are helping Iraq lest it collapse and leave the vengeful Ayatollah Khomeini dominant, though the Saudis are also continuing their large subsidy to Syria.

The Soviet Union has been helping both sides, though it appears to be tilting toward an ascendant Iran. European defense sources say the United States has been doing the same more modestly. Washington denies this, but is moving openly to shore up Iraq with cargo planes.

Drooping oil prices have insulated consumers against a loss of production caused by this strife between two major OPEC states. But the West's temptation — allowing the war to preoccupy two unsavory, aggressive regimes — is giving way to serious concern about the longer-term economic, political and strategic impact of armed struggle among Moslems.

The military lessons of the two wars augur further destabilization of precarious world relations. The Falklands war has demonstrated the power of new technology against armor. The air-sea battles will probably unleash a whole new race in Latin America and elsewhere for sophisticated weaponry. The Gulf war shows the power of ancient fanaticism and the disintegration of countries' capacities to impose rules of conduct — the sense of a world running out of control even of the feuding superpowers — risks spurring the desire to acquire nuclear arms.

Resources of statesmanship seem to have drained while resources of force have mushroomed. Unless narrowed and lowered national sights are raised to the higher, common interests of peoples, the jungle at the end of the road may be approaching.



Captured Iraqi troops being guarded by Iranian forces at the port city of Khuzestan.

Associated Press

## Reagan and other leaders prepare for summit sessions

# 3

year rift between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. For a time yesterday, those "sad years of division," as the Pope called them, were put aside as he joined the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Robert Runcie, in an ecumenical service at Canterbury Cathedral. The two embraced and pledged to move "in faith and hope towards the unity for which we long."

To demonstrate his neutrality over the Falklands, the Pope planned to fly to Buenos Aires next week and the Vatican was careful to label both journeys pastoral, not political. The distinction could be lost on the Argentines, who were already treating the papal visit as a propaganda coup. In a sermon marking the country's National Day — May 25, 1810, when Buenos Aires citizens made decisions that led to independence from Spain six years later — the Rev. Raúl Rossi told junta leaders and others at the Metropolitan Cathedral: "A small though powerful portion of our world has been scandalized and sanctions us because we have dared to recover, at the price of our own blood, that which was always ours."

The war was taking a toll on United States relations with Latin America. By a 17-0 vote, the Organization of American States called on Washington to stop helping Britain and lift sanctions against Argentina. The United States — which abstained along with Chile, Colombia and Trinidad and Tobago — was excoriated at the meeting by Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Méndez for turning "its back on this region."



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## THE FALKLANDS: As the Toll Increases So Does Determination

For Britain,  
The Sobering  
Implications  
Of Victory

By R.W. APPLE Jr.

LONDON  
LAST week's events were enough to keep even the phlegmatic British in emotional turmoil. On Monday came the news that seven Argentine planes had been shot down in a savage battle over the Falklands; up. On Tuesday a horrific photograph of the frigate Antelope exploding; down. On Wednesday, two more British ships lost; down again. On Thursday, British troops broke out of their beachhead; up again. Then on Friday, Pope John Paul II became the first of the 263 Bishops of Rome to set foot in England, a thrill just possibly topped when the Defense Ministry announced the capture of Darwin and Goose Green.

Through it all, public support for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher not only held fast but grew. Since Argentina seized the Falklands, Market and Opinion Research International has been polling a panel of voters for the Economist; last week, an astonishing 84 percent said they approved of her Government's handling of the crisis. What was more, 51 percent said they would vote Conservative if a general election were held tomorrow — up from only 33 percent in April. On Thursday, Timothy Smith, a Conservative who had called Mrs. Thatcher's Falklands stand "courageous" was elected to a vacant seat in Parliament from the London suburb of Beaconsfield with 62 percent of the vote.

Almost lost in the increasing cacophony of fighting was the fact that Mrs. Thatcher had substantially toughened her position. In the series of negotiations that collapsed 10 days ago, she was willing to consider a mutual withdrawal of forces and a multinational interim administration on the Falklands. Now she is insisting on a unilateral Argentine pullout and restoration of an entirely British administration under the former governor, Rex Hunt. In everything but name, she demands unconditional surrender by the Argentine garrison.

Quite apart from those few politicians, such as the Labor Party left-winger Tony Benn, who object to the military operation in toto, a number of M. P.'s, civil servants and commentators are worried by the Government's attitude. The more British soldiers, sailors and airmen killed, they believe, the more the British public and Prime Minister will demand that this country have something to show for its sacrifice. Especially if the ground battle to recapture Stanley costs many British lives, it could be politically impossible for Mrs. Thatcher to settle for anything less than British control of the islands for several years.

The problem, of course, is that much the same political dynamic is in operation in Buenos Aires. The junta (or its successor) is unlikely to be any more able to give up its goals in defeat than the British Cabinet will be able to give up its goals in victory. The Argentines will constantly harass British forces on the islands, analysts here believe, waiting for the British public to become tired of the costs, both financial and strategic, of tying up warships and troops defending 1,800 people 8,000 miles away.

Potentially even more costly than the Falklands



Survivor of the British destroyer Sheffield arriving in Brize Norton, England last week; Argentines celebrating National Day on Tuesday in Buenos Aires.

could be the terms of British membership in the Common Market. The Community, with Italy and Ireland again dissenting, last week indefinitely extended its sanctions against Argentina. But in return, the Thatcher Government was obliged to drop its objections to a budget compromise that will still leave Britain contributing \$725 million more to the market this year than it receives.

The potential costs of the war in the South Atlantic were clear to a number of people in London, among them Denis Healey, the foreign affairs spokesman of the opposition Labor Party; David Owen, the parliamentary leader of the Social Democrats; and perhaps even Francis Pym, the Foreign Secretary. But they could only work at the margins of the problem, lest they be seen to be undercutting the fighting men. Thus Dr. Owen contented himself with guarded comments about the dangers of excessive truculence, while Mr. Pym confined himself to hopeful suggestions that at some unspecified date "there can be friendships rebuilt, and stability and peace."

It remained for David Watt, director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, to state what many were thinking: "Objectively speaking, there is everything to be said for resuming negotiations as soon as possible — and the fact that that possibility is hourly receding into the fog of battle constitutes the greatest cost of all."



## In Argentina, Pride and Anger

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

BUENOS AIRES

THE theater where Israeli pianist Israel Margalit appeared last week was filled with some of this cosmopolitan city's cultured elite, the sort of people who were among the few to be appalled by their Government's seizure of the Falkland Islands two months ago. But when a recording of the national anthem was played before the concert, they all stood and sang out loudly. It was characteristic of the spirit of determination that has taken hold in the face of growing British military pressure and the spreading beachhead on the Falklands.

The determination seems to have increased with the cost. Argentina said it had already lost almost 400 lives and 18 warplanes. British claims of Argentine losses were much higher. But families were suffering mostly in silence. Grief was registered inside dark churches, where mothers quietly said their rosaries. A taxi driver said he had not heard from his son on the islands for 50 days. He keeps writing letters, he said, but he had no idea whether his son, a draftee, was dead or alive.

Anger was brewing, directed less at London recently and more at Washington. The British are seen as honest enemies, the Americans as traitors who first offered themselves as neutral in the failed mediation of Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., and then put their support behind Britain. The niceties of North Atlantic Treaty Organization requirements are overlooked in the stress on what many Argentines view as American military involvement. A popular theory, repeated even by senior Foreign Ministry officials, is that the United States is out for a Falklands naval base. When President Reagan sent a note last week in honor of Argentina's National Day, President Leopoldo F. Galtieri was caustic. The Argentine leader said he found Mr. Reagan's call for hemispheric unity "incomprehensible under the present circumstances." Argentine military men think the key to British policy, military or diplomatic, lies with Washington, which acknowledged last week supplying London with missiles, rockets, bombs and ammunition.

Argentina has been on its own secret arms shopping

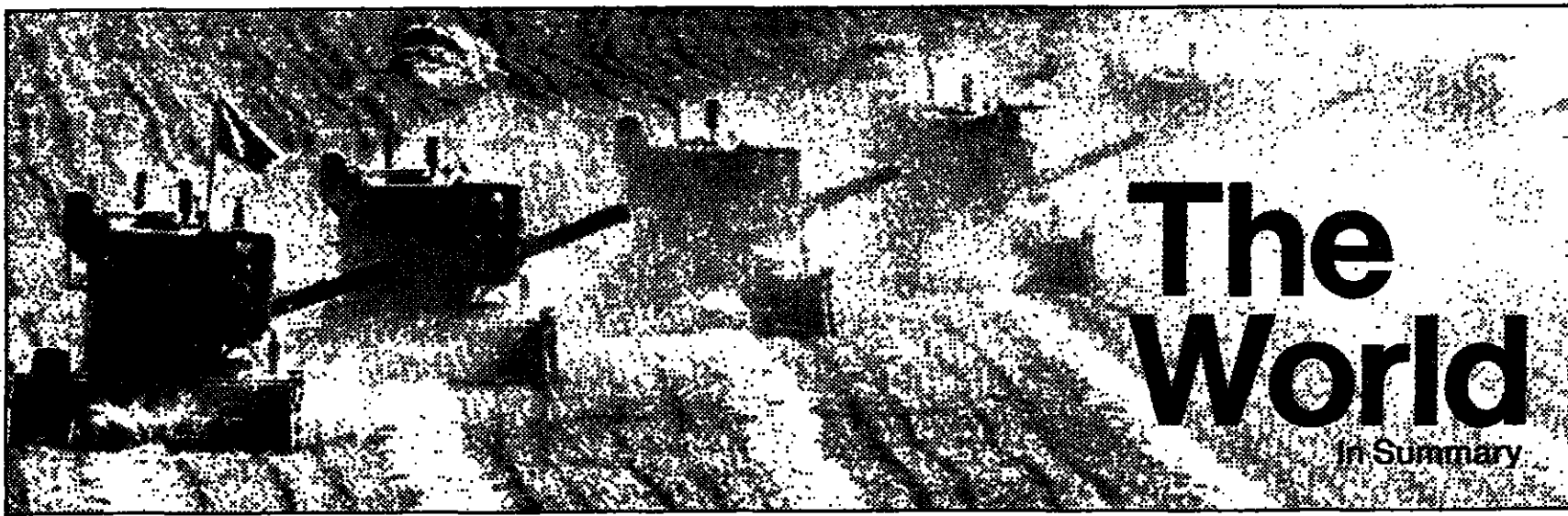
spree, with results as yet unknown. It has obtained sea patrol planes from Brazil, but the most-wanted items were warplanes and missiles, especially the French-made Exocets that have sunk two British ships. By Western counts, only one Exocet remained, but additional purchases in international arms markets were rumored.

Argentina's own arms industry has been working overtime turning out Pucará ground-support planes and other weapons, senior Argentine officers said. Argentina still had about \$5 billion in reserves and the credit to finance such purchases. But its economic ability in a protracted war was thrown into question by the temerity of its export lifeline. War fears have diverted some shipping traffic. Grain orders for June, normally a heavy exporting month, are down by 50 percent. The Soviet Union has postponed half its June grain purchases, leading to speculation among diplomats that it might push Argentina into a grain-for-weapons deal to replace Buenos Aires's depleted Western arms. A Western diplomat suggested that "the more devastating the loss [for Argentina], the better it is for them [the Russians]."

Despite losses, the air force, which has sunk five British ships, has maintained its zest for battle. Argentine airmen have been offended by British suggestions that they may be "suicidal." The air force commander, Brig. Basilio Lami Dozo, said his pilots' success showed their "professionalism." The air force, he added, remained "intact." Many of the downed Argentine pilots had been rescued, Argentine air officers said.

The navy and its spartan chief, Adm. Jorge Isaac Anaya, were initially the most hawkish of the three services in pushing for an invasion. Since then, the surface fleet has been hemmed in close to the mainland by British submarines, but senior navy officers said the fleet would run the gauntlet to head off a British landing near Stanley.

With ground fighting raging, the army's role has become critical. Supplies have been largely cut off, but the battlefield commander, Gen. Mario Benjamín Menéndez, said stocks were high. He maintained his upbeat assessment of morale, although Western military analysts noted that two months on the wet and windswept islands could prove depressing for any country's men. Most Argentine soldiers are draftees trained on the job.



Combines working a wheat field in the Soviet Union.

The  
World  
In SummaryTurn of Fortune  
For Iraq Makes  
A Region Tremble

Iran, anarchic and revolutionary, looked like easy pickings 20 months ago when Iraqi forces stormed across the border, eventually seizing 7,000 square miles of Iranian territory. But last week the invaders were on the run. They had inadvertently ignited Iranian nationalism, uniting mullahs and military. Iranian forces in two days of sharp battle retook Khurrumshahr, the key port city on the disputed Shatt al Arab waterway frontier. They took thousands of prisoners as demoralized Iraqis broke ranks, tore off their shoes and swam for their lives.

Iran's Speaker of Parliament, Hojatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani, demanded reparations and putting Iraqi President Saddam Hussein on trial as conditions for ending the war. Shiite Moslems have never forgiven Mr. Hussein for expelling the exiled Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in 1978. Mr. Rafsanjani also warned Arab countries, notably Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Jordan, that have helped Iraq with more than \$20 billion in loans and military aid. "We have no designs on their territory," he said, "but we will not stop at anything to secure our rights, and our greatest right is Saddam's downfall."

The United States, worried about Soviet exploitation of instability and Iranian threats to the conservative Gulf regimes, said it would increase efforts to end the fighting. "We have

der M. Haig Jr. "We are committed to defending our vital interests in the area." Reviewing Middle Eastern policy, Mr. Haig also called for "redoubling of efforts" in the stalled Palestinian autonomy talks. The United States is discussing bringing Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel together with President Reagan next month to put new life in the talks.

Also last week, Washington confirmed the sale to Israel of 75 advanced F-16 jets costing \$2.7 billion. And Mr. Haig said Presidential envoy Philip C. Habib will return to the Middle East to push efforts to end factional strife that has brought Lebanon to "the abyss of violence and chaos." Israeli jets reconnoitering over Lebanon last week shot down two Syrian MIG interceptors.

K.G.B. Chief  
Joins the Club

Yuri V. Andropov, the veteran Soviet intelligence and internal security chief, hung up his cloak and moved his dagger to a new and probably more powerful office last week. He was "relieved" after 15 years as head of the K.G.B., the Committee for State Security, and joined the small circle of Politburo members who also run day-to-day Communist Party affairs as permanent secretaries of the Central Committee.

The move strengthens Mr. Andropov, who is 67, as a prime contender to succeed Leonid I. Brezhnev, the

chief Kremlin ideologist. But evidently he will share Mr. Suslov's extensive powers with Mr. Brezhnev's 70-year-old assistant and political confidant, Konstantin U. Chernenko, also a Politburo member, Central Committee secretary and leading candidate for the top job.

Westerners who have met him say Mr. Andropov is well-educated and, in Soviet terms, relatively enlightened. Dissidents found him an implacable foe, but he is credited with restraining K.G.B. excesses against Soviet citizens. The longer reach of Soviet power is another story. He was

Ambassador in Budapest when Soviet tanks were called in to crush the 1956 uprising, and is believed to have been an early advocate of the military crackdown on Solidarity in Poland and a member of the Politburo group directing Soviet operations in Afghanistan.

Mr. Andropov's K.G.B. job went to Vitali V. Fedorchuk, a 64-year-old professional who headed the Ukraine branch. Little is known of him, but his most recent writings were replete with hard-line clichés: "spiritual decomposition" of the Soviet people and dangers posed by imperialism, "in-

ternational Zionism" and "clerical anti-Communism."

## Shaking Up Agriculture

The Soviet Union, struggling with food deficits so serious the Kremlin still hasn't announced figures for last year's crop disasters, last week came up with its answer to agribusiness — new layers of agribureaucracy.

New district agricultural councils announced by Leonid I. Brezhnev will include local officials, heads of collective and state farms, and industry representatives for farm machinery, fertilizer, food processing and transportation. The councils will send up signals through regional councils, to coordinating commissions in the 15 Soviet republics and on to a supreme commission in Moscow.

Despite advance hints, Mr. Brezhnev offered only vague encouragement to private farm plots — which already produce 61 percent of the country's potatoes and nearly 30 percent of its meat, milk and vegetables on 1.4 percent of the farmland.

Feeding his people, Mr. Brezhnev said, "is not only a top economic priority but also an urgent sociopolitical task." This was a possible allusion to recent protests and work stoppages that have alarmed Soviet authorities. Referring indirectly to the United States grain embargo imposed after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and lifted by President Reagan, he added that Moscow "will never put up" with attempts to use international grain sales for "political pressure." Soviet grain imports this year are expected to reach 42 million tons.

Solidarity's  
Spark Glows

Polish authorities still refuse to talk seriously with them, but after more than five months under martial law, Solidarity's independent leaders show no signs of capitulation. The Government last week transferred Lech Walesa, Solidarity's leader, to a new place of internment near the Soviet border. Roman Catholic church sources said he "apparently has not sided with authorities" and an International Labor Organization envoy who met him said Mr. Walesa had not had a serious meeting with the authorities in two months.

Jan Kulaj, the recently released leader of Rural Solidarity, said Communist authorities had planted "provocateurs" to compromise the unions from within. "Under present conditions," he added, "nobody is ready to undertake honest work, because our rights are not respected."

Michał Pietkiewicz, a local Solidarity official also recently released (at least 1,500 remain under arrest) stood up at mass in Białystok and thanked the church for speaking out "against all the evil acts and against all those who trample the rights of man." Archbishop Józef Glemp replied cautiously, calling for prayer and warning against hunger strikes and youth demonstrations like those earlier this month that resulted in hundreds of new arrests.

Barbara Slavin  
and Milt Freudenheim

## The Rumanian Shuffle in a Few Easy Lessons

WASHINGTON

THE recent reshuffling of the Rumanian Government by President Nicolae Ceausescu recalled a grand tradition of the Byzantine court — moving officials around to avoid responsibility for a truly wretched performance.

After 17 years of Mr. Ceausescu's rule, Rumania is in terrible straits. Once the breadbasket of the entire Turkish empire, it had to import corn this year from South Africa. Its farms are operated for the most part by women, the men having been drawn into the urban centers to work in now faltering factories.

Last year, Rumania joined Poland and Czechoslovakia in Eastern Europe's club of big debtors. Its total ob-

estimated at more than \$10 billion and Bucharest is having difficulty obtaining a rescheduling of the \$2.3 billion it owed last year and this year.

The May 21 ouster of Ilie Verdet from his post as Prime Minister, along with seven aides, was Mr. Ceausescu's way of acknowledging Rumania's economic difficulties since, in the East European dialectic, it is almost always "the Government" — hardly ever the Communist Party — that is held responsible for failures of industry and agriculture.

The new Prime Minister, Constantin Dascalu, is, like Mr. Verdet, a long-time associate of Mr. Ceausescu. But he is expected to be tougher in the execution of his duties.

A piquant and also Byzantine aspect of the shifts is that two of the

Cornel Burtica, are related to Mr. Ceausescu by marriage. Mr. Verdet is married to a Ceausescu sister and Mr. Burtica to a Ceausescu niece.

Mr. Burtica was "released from the office of deputy prime minister," according to the party announcement. Both men retained their memberships in the Politburo, as did Emil Bobu, another ousted deputy prime minister. Mr. Verdet further was given a vice presidency on the largely ceremonial Council of State.

Observing these shifts, a Rumanian specialist at the State Department remarked last week that they had served to shiver the myth that Mr. Ceausescu was running Rumania as a family business in which he was the godfather. "That was exaggerated," the specialist said.

Elena, remains a member of the Politburo and is also a deputy prime minister, while their son, Nicu, heads the Union of Communist Youth.

Still other Ceausescus named Constantin, George, Ilie and Ion also hold positions in the party-state bureaucracy.

A peculiarity of the latest Bucharest shuffle is that some of those demoted had links with a "transcendental meditation" cult with headquarters in the capital. One was the ousted Education Minister, Aneta Spornic, who also lost her membership in the Politburo. She was reassigned, however, to the State Planning Commission where, given Rumania's persistent economic problems, transcendental meditation could come in handy.



## Reagan and Other Leaders Prepare for Round of Economic and NATO Sessions

## A Misery That Makes It Hard to Love Company

By PAUL LEWIS

LEADERS of the West's largest economies will meet again this week at Versailles to try to recapture the prosperity that has eluded them since the big oil price increases of the 1970's. Again this year, they are trapped by concerted stagnation of their economies, with prospects for more of the same in 1983. Since their annual meetings began at Rambouillet, France, in 1975, unemployment in the industrial democracies is up 40 percent to more than 25 million people and it is still rising.

Quarrels and doubts will abound when French President François Mitterrand welcomes President Reagan and the leaders of West Germany, Britain, Canada, Italy and Japan, plus Belgium as spokesmen for smaller nations. The West Europeans, fearing prolonged damage from high American interest rates, see themselves as victims of President Reagan's tight budget and lenient tax policies. Japan's moves last week to open its markets to foreign goods and farm products were carefully timed to defuse resentment at Versailles of Tokyo's superior trading performance. But, as the United States special trade negotiator, William E. Brock, has warned, it will be a long time before increased Western sales in Japan can make up for the jobs lost to Japanese imports.

The five European Common Market countries at Versailles are also sorely divided. Britain last week reluctantly agreed to an \$875 million rebate from the Common Market budget; it will contribute \$1.6 billion more than it gets back. Trade disputes between Europe and the United States are breaking out again over steel and agriculture. And while all the participants at Versailles formally support Britain in its war with Argentina, they fear their trade with Latin America may suffer in consequence. But the leaders are likely to keep their disagreements under wraps. President Mitterrand has prepared a modest, informal meeting confined to "an exchange of reflections." Instead of a formal communiqué, the participants plan to issue a short "declaration."

Their first economic summit in 1975 dealt with

threats to the postwar economic rulebook under which they had prospered. Among the threats were the breakdown of the monetary system, with the dollar no longer convertible into gold, and the first big oil price increase. They agreed to curb disorderly currency markets, preparing for the decision the next year empowering the International Monetary Fund to exercise "strict surveillance" over Western exchange rates and economic policies. The agreement has been only partially observed, but it helped avert a "war" of currency devaluations aimed at increasing exports to pay oil bills.

At London in 1977, the more prosperous countries agreed to take more risks with inflation, expanding their economies in hopes of leading the world to recovery. They officially adopted this "locomotive" approach at Bonn in 1978, when Germany and Japan agreed to reflate if the United States would curb energy consumption. But the locomotives were derailed by inflation and Congress was slow to act on decontrolling oil and natural gas prices as a spur to conservation. At Tokyo in 1979, the leaders set

energy-saving targets, but these were overtaken by recession after the second oil price shock. Last summer's meeting in Ottawa was noteworthy for its moderating impact on some of Mr. Reagan's policies, especially toward the third world, and for establishing a working relationship between him and France's new Socialist President. The meetings have also been valuable in maintaining commitments to free trade and thus avoiding a protectionist upsurge that could have made a bad situation worse.

## Reagan-Style Priorities

At Versailles, Western leaders are likely to return to some of the same issues they faced at their first meeting. The Reagan Administration says it cannot do anything about high interest rates, which it predicts will come down when the world realizes the United States has licked inflation. Washington offers to mitigate the deflationary impact of high rates by helping to stabilize the dollar against other currencies, to foster trade and investment.

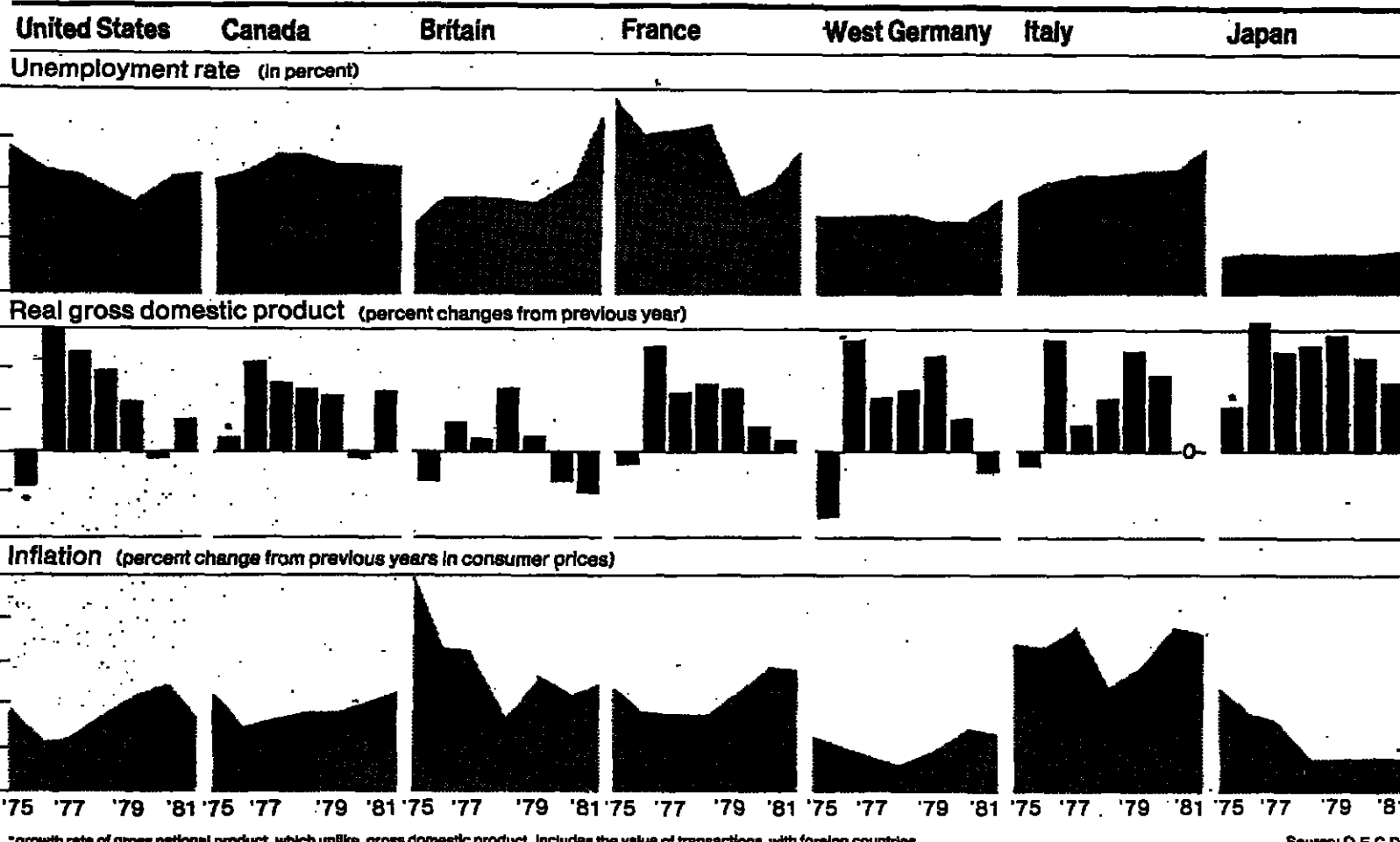
In return, the Administration wants its economic

partners to put real teeth into their 1975 promise to let the International Monetary Fund discipline their economic policies. The idea is to encourage the others to adopt Reagan-style priorities—against inflation and for free trade.

The proposal poses fewer difficulties for Britain, Germany and Japan, which already have similar priorities, than for France, which has been trying to reflate its way out of recession. But President Mitterrand's economic experiment is already in trouble with soaring inflation and a widening trade gap. Tighter I.M.F. surveillance might be welcomed by Mitterrand Government moderates who are calling for a new tack.

The Reagan Administration also hopes the Versailles meeting will mark a turning point in East-West economic relations. It is urging the leaders to recognize that they are in providing financing for East European purchases of technology in the 1970's. The policy left Western banks loaded with loans that may never be repaid, while Eastern European resources were diverted to military spending. The Eastern European countries now are barely creditworthy. But as their position improves, they may go on another borrowing spree to finance planned development of Russia's vast natural gas reserves. The West may be more careful next time.

## The Big Seven's headaches



## Trip Will Test Presidential Progress on Foreign Issues

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — Between horseback riding and clearing brush at his Santa Barbara ranch last week, President Reagan pored over a fat briefing book on the conference of leaders of the big industrial democracies that he will attend this week in Versailles. Before leaving for Europe on Wednesday, he will have studied five more briefing books on issues and personalities he will encounter.

All Presidents study briefing books before foreign trips, but they are of special importance for Mr. Reagan because he continues to appear less versed—and perhaps less interested—in foreign policy than any President in recent memory. Indeed, William F. Clark, the national security adviser, acknowledged recently that Mr. Reagan's experience as a former California governor "clearly lies in economic and domestic policy areas."

But in the last few months, Mr. Reagan has been addressing foreign policy issues more systematically. With the help of Mr. Clark, who joined the White House staff in January, he has eased the friction between Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger, overruling both on occasion.

In his Eureka College speech May 9 he advanced a proposal for nuclear weapons reductions that even Administration critics found respectable. While remaining aloof from day-to-day developments in the Falklands war, he first articulated neutrality between Argentina and Britain, later shifting to support for Britain that is tempered by frequently expressed hopes for eventual restoration of friendship with the Argentines. And this month, Mr. Reagan signed a sweeping national security directive establishing priorities in case of global conflict with the Russians, a document Mr. Clark rates as highly impor-

tant. Aides say Mr. Reagan spends about a third of his time on foreign policy—not much more than last year. But White House officials assert he is more familiar with the issues and that Mr. Clark has improved the organization of the material, so the time is better spent now.

## Mr. Clark's Critics

Yet, all is far from perfect, officials concede. One senior Presidential appointee was seen wincing when Mr. Reagan joked at a recent dinner that the Administration's policy on nuclear war was to install smoke detectors at the White House. His aides agree that he has yet to handle himself with complete confidence in public. "He feels he has to be more cautious, restrained and controlled when he talks about foreign policy," said a senior staff member. Mr. Reagan's off-hand comment last fall about the possibilities of a limited nuclear exchange in Europe touched off a furor overseas that forced him on the defensive for days. What he had said was not so much inaccurate as impolitic, but each time he tried to explain he seemed to compound the problem.

The President has learned to pay attention to public sentiment on arms control. In Europe, he is expected to reiterate his willingness to abide by the unratified SALT

II limits on nuclear weapons and to revive a plan for a 700,000-man ceiling on Warsaw Pact and NATO forces in Central Europe.

Not everyone is a fan of Mr. Clark's role as national security adviser. His forte is said to be seeking accommodations between officials who disagree before taking their disagreements to Mr. Reagan. Another of his talents reportedly is the ability to reduce issues to one-page "mini-memos" to help the President decide whether to read the accompanying briefing material. Some foreign policy officials believe Mr. Clark goes too far to insulate the President from a bracing mixture of views. Others say that his "mini-memos" are overrated and that national security staff materials remain uneven.

There is little doubt at the White House that Mr. Reagan's European trip will be his biggest foreign policy test. He will attend the economic conference at Versailles and a North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit in Bonn and, along the way, will be giving speeches intended to change his image in some quarters abroad as "a cowboy, a flake or a right-wing nut," as one Administration official put it.

In contrast to last year's summit in Ottawa, Mr. Reagan's preparation for Versailles has been noticeably less

gratuit, reflecting broader Administration experience and Mr. Reagan's growing understanding of the issues. Last week, in an interview with European journalists, the President moved knowledgeably from topic to topic, comparing Italian interest rates to those of West Germany and Japan, and asserting confidently that he had "no quarrel" with European military spending levels.

Presidents have traditionally turned to foreign policy issues, and especially summitry, for relief from day-to-day domestic headaches. This has not generally been the case with Mr. Reagan, who entered office with what his supporters described as a mission to change the shape of domestic economic and social policies. But there are signs that Mr. Reagan has been enjoying himself of late on foreign matters. The other day, giving some Republican assurances about arms sales in the Middle East, Mr. Reagan said, "Menachem and I exchange letters all the time on these subjects." His audience laughed in surprise at the homey reference to Prime Minister Begin of Israel. "Yes, we're on a first-name basis now," the President added with a smile. "That's kind of a shock to the striped-pants fellows over in the State Department, that we call each other by the first name, but we do." Like his audience, Mr. Reagan clearly relished this fact.



Willy Brandt

## Does the International Offer a 'Third Way' or Merely a Gloss for Extremists?

## Socialists Try to Fit Principles to Caribbean

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY — When the Socialist International last week called for a cease-fire in the Falklands and set up a special commission to monitor developments in the war, it was by no means the first time the European-dominated body had inserted itself into an issue of great consequence for the Western Hemisphere and United States policy in the region. After Salvadorans surprised the Reagan Administration and maybe even themselves by turning out in droves to vote in March, a Socialist International meeting scathingly denounced the "so-called" elections and argued anew that only negotiations with the guerrillas could end the civil war.

At the same time, the organization, even though it has recently been critical of Nicaragua's leftist Government, promised to support the Managua regime "in its commitment to pluralism, social justice, democracy and non-alignment." The group also gave a nod of encouragement to Grenada's pro-Cuban regime.

Although the Socialist International includes many politicians and parties considered friendly to the United States, Washington responded sharply to what it perceived as an effort to undermine its Caribbean Basin policy. "The Government of El Salvador was willing to submit to the will of the people, yet the Socialist International presidium condemns that process," the State Department said. "The Government of Nicaragua openly expresses contempt for the electoral process, yet the Socialist International presidium supports that Government." Instead of this "double standard," the Administration said, the Socialist International should show "more balance and objectivity" in responding to events in Central America. "The democratic left must be able to distinguish itself from the totalitarian left or it will betray the democratic convictions of its rank and file," the statement warned.

Washington's tart reply did not surprise the London-based body of 60 Social Democratic and Labor parties from Western countries. Many Administration officials have long voiced the view that, at least in Central America, Social Democrats have been unwitting tools of Marxists, providing legitimacy to revolutionaries who, as in Nicaragua, quickly dump moderate allies after seizing power. But with the Caribbean region increasingly polarized, the Socialist International believes it can offer a "third way" for peaceful socioeconomic reform. It has found an influential regional ally in Mexico, a member that has tried to mediate United States differences with Nicaragua and Cuba.

At last week's meeting in Helsinki, the organization's president, former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, said the Socialist International would continue to press for a political settlement in El Salvador. Guillermo Ungo, whose Nationalist Revolutionary Movement is a member of the International and who heads the political arm of the Salvadoran opposition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front, said violence in his country was still increasing and that the March elections had merely produced a new fascist government.

## Pragmatic Approach in Latin America

Since it was founded as the First International by Karl Marx in 1848, the Socialist International has been moody European in membership and orientation. Elected as its president six years ago, Mr. Brandt launched a new effort to make the organization a truly global movement, with particular emphasis on Latin America. Social Democratic parties already existed on the continent; they had dominated politics in Venezuela and Costa Rica since World War II. Recently, new parties have been formed and others have joined the International, welcoming its support and advice in combating rightist dictatorships. Where in Western Europe the organization was

firmly anti-Communist—it played a key role in blocking the Communist takeover of Portugal in the mid-1970's—in Latin America it was willing to contemplate alliances between Social Democrats and Marxists. It even argued that, while traditional democracies were unlikely to emerge from armed revolutions, Social Democrats had no choice but to support revolutionary change.

After the 1978 Nicaraguan Revolution, the Socialist International was quick to offer support, hoping to strengthen moderates among the Sandinistas. But by last year, it was worried. Abroad, Nicaragua was echoing Cuba's foreign policy and had joined the Soviet bloc's federations of youth, women, unions and students. At home, the regime's growing intolerance of opposition prompted Mr. Brandt to warn that it was paying "inadequate attention to the needs of pluralism in democracy."

Some Latin American members, struggling for space between Havana and Washington, were even more alarmed. When a Socialist International meeting was scheduled in Caracas in February, Venezuela's Democratic Action Party demanded the Sandinistas be denied their usual observer status, noting that Marxist-Leninists "belong to another international." Mr. Brandt canceled the meeting. On El Salvador, the Socialist International has channeled support through Mr. Ungo, apparently willing to gamble again that a "moderately leftist" but pluralistic regime can emerge from negotiations. Its overall approach to the region remains that the West should co-opt, rather than isolate, Nicaragua, Grenada, the Salvadoran and Guatemalan left and even Cuba.

The Reagan Administration rejects this thesis. In Commentary magazine, Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the United Nations delegate, derided Socialists who, "unable to win popular support for peaceful revolution in their own countries, have grown progressively enthusiastic about revolution elsewhere and less fastidious about the company they keep and the methods utilized."

BROADWAY 80

I'm glad I changed...

# The Nation

## In Summary

### Another Heat For the Hare And Tortoise

The blown-dry look may be about to undergo its sharpest test of the spring primary season. After the votes in the Democratic primary for Governor were counted in Arkansas last week, Bill Clinton, a young, slick former Governor, had finished first. But not far enough ahead of a decidedly unslick former Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General, Joe Purcell, to avoid a runoff. Mr. Purcell, known as a terrible speaker, is thought to have a good chance of finishing first on June 8 because of lingering doubts that Mr. Clinton is, as he claims, a born-again homebody.

To make the runoff, Mr. Purcell, who appeared to be trailing badly in public opinion polls a few weeks ago, came from behind to clamber over another young, slick contender, former United States Representative Jim Guy Tucker. Mr. Purcell immediately said he would be too busy to debate Mr. Clinton. Mr. Clinton,

for his part, is attempting a comeback. He was regarded as a prospect for glittering prizes in Washington after he was elected Governor in 1978. But two years ago voters, apparently rolled over his well-publicized ambitions and having to pay higher gasoline taxes, replaced him with Republican Frank D. White, who easily won renomination for a second term last week.

In Ohio, meanwhile, a comeback already well under way took an unusual turn. Jerry Springer, who was forced to resign from the Cincinnati City Council in 1974 after a liaison with a prostitute, began a television advertising campaign that features him recounting the incident and then maintaining that a man with his candor would make a crackpot Governor. After the incident, Mr. Springer was subsequently rejected to the Council and is now Mayor. His aides said that the television spots, designed to make the contretemps less useful to his opponents for the Democratic nomination, had resulted in stepped-up campaign contributions. The voters' verdict is due the second Tuesday in June.



Associated Press; The New York Times/David P. Purcell  
Joe Purcell (left) and Bill Clinton.

### Court Steps In On Georgia Races

Although pegged by some opponents as a consistent anti-civil rights fastballer, the Reagan Administration has recently thrown a few curves.

One result was a Federal court ruling last week that barred Georgia from continuing procedures for its Congressional elections until it could be determined whether the state's redistricting plan discriminated against blacks.

The complaint was initiated by the Justice Department on the ground that

Georgia's plan diluted black voting strength in the Atlanta area by dividing black voters between the Fourth and Fifth Congressional Districts, lessening the likelihood that a black candidate would be elected to Congress. It was the first time such an injunction had been issued under the 1965 Voting Rights Act in a case involving Congressional districts.

Georgia's Attorney General Michael J. Bowers and Gov. George D. Busbee asked Chief Justice Warren E. Burger to block the lower court's ruling and allow the state to go through with plans, including an Aug. 10 primary election, to fill its 10 Congressional seats. Mr. Burger denied the request and the officials refiled with Associate Justice William H. Rehnquist.

"It's strange to find ourselves on the President's side but the Administration is right on this issue," said Georgia State Senator Julian Bond. Mr. Bond and 17 other legislators are acting as intervenors in a suit filed by the state to overcome the Justice Department's objection to the plan.

State officials contend that the plan was the best political compromise they could devise.

### Hinckley's Side Finishes Defense

In most trials in which the mental state of a defendant is at issue, the testimony of one or two "expert" witnesses will do. Not in the matter of John W. Hinckley Jr.

Last week, the defense presented the 14th and final witness to back up its assertion that Mr. Hinckley, who

has admitted shooting President Reagan and three other men last year, is not guilty by reason of insanity. When the trial, which has been under way since April 27, resumes Tuesday, the Government begins calling rebuttal witnesses.

The final defense witness, Dr. Thomas C. Goldman, who testified for much of last week, said that Mr. Hinckley "feels as if he hasn't done anything all that terrible." In Mr. Hinckley's mind, he said, the four victims were nothing more than "actors in his own fantasy." He was, the doctor said, using them. "He didn't care about killing anyone in particular. He wanted to be united with Miss Foster [the film actress Jodie Foster]. These people were intermediaries."

Under cross-examination, Dr. Goldman conceded that Mr. Hinckley had apparently lied to him when he said that it had been a matter of chance that his pistol was loaded with explosive Devastator bullets on the morning of the attack.

Before the trial adjourned for the holiday weekend, the jury, at the defense's request, was shown the movie "Taxi Driver," in which Miss Foster played a 12-year-old prostitute. Mr. Hinckley's lawyers contend that he was assuming the role of a character in the movie when he shot Mr. Reagan, the Presidential press secretary and two law officers. But Federal District Judge Barrington D. Parker refused to let the defense show the jury brain scans that were said to show Mr. Hinckley had been suffering from schizophrenia.

Michael Wright  
and Caroline Rand Herron

## Coalition Collapses Under Economic Pressures

# The Worst Is Not Necessarily Over in 1983 Budget Impasse



The White House/Michael Evans via United Press International  
President Reagan discussing the budget from California last week.

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON — The coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that controlled the House of Representatives last year collapsed last week as the lawmakers failed in four days of voting to pass a budget. The question now is whether the House will ever be able to find a majority to adopt a spending plan for 1983.

The answer is cloudy at best. The chamber has always been an uneasy alliance of feuding factions, and budget resolutions have always been difficult to pass because they express basic priorities that are difficult to reconcile. When former Representative Robert Giamo of Connecticut headed the budget committee, he compared the drafting of a plan to balancing peas on a knife; every time you put a pea on one end, you knock one off the other.

The peas were glued to the knife last year by extraordinary factors — President Reagan's overwhelming election victory, and the outpouring of public support for his policies generated by a politically savvy White House. They fell off this year for many reasons. But one was the President's inability, or unwillingness, to step into the fray and whip his troops into line.

He made some phone calls to wavering lawmakers, and a few statements at press conferences. But when the final vote approached, the President went to California for a vacation, not to the television studio for a broadcast, and that was clearly by design. The White House could read the Congressional mood, and they simply did not want to stake Mr. Reagan's prestige on a risky gamble. "The President has remarkably little clout up here," said Representative Richard Bolling of Missouri, chairman of the Rules Committee. "People have figured out he's got to have some responsibility for the economic situation."

In fact, some Democrats believe that Mr. Reagan did not want to win, that he prefers to have the campaign issue of denouncing the Democrats for "obstructionism." And on Friday, the President quickly derided his rivals' handling of the budget process as "the most irresponsible, Mickey Mouse arrangement that any governmental body has ever practiced."

The President's outburst symbolized how widely the mood has swung. The economic miracle he promised has not occurred, and Congress is left with a painful series of "second choices," in the words of budget committee chairman James R. Jones of Oklahoma. With an election coming, added Representative Charles Stenholm, a conservative Democrat from Texas, "there is a strong feeling among many members that the safest vote is a no

vote." "Last year, we voted for a daring new concept," said Representative Ralph Hall, another Texas Democrat who sided with Mr. Reagan. "This year, there's nothing to be proud of."

The fragmentation on the Republican side was particularly dramatic last week, since the Republicans exhibited iron discipline in major fights a year ago. As an aide to Robert Michel, the Republican leader, put it, "Bob has always been able to putty over the cracks in the party. This week, there wasn't enough putty."

On one hand Mr. Michel had to contend with the "gypsy moths," the moderate lawmakers from Frost Belt states of the Northeast and Middle West who supported Mr. Reagan last year, though they said they disagreed with his basic notion that government has few responsibilities for the disadvantaged. This time, 15 gypsy moths abandoned the Republican plan, helping cause its defeat. "In our change of direction," noted Representative Jim Leach of Iowa, "we have overlooked some important fairness issues. Unless we correct that, the future of the Republican Party is not very large."

Moreover, the gypsy moths tend to represent areas that are most devastated by the recession, and most in need of the sort of government help that would be slashed by their party's own plans and are ever mindful of the possible meaning for November. Last week, 64 House Republicans voted for a budget amendment that would reduce the defense spending increase and add it to Medicare. One Democratic strategist said that every Republican on his party's hit list for the fall had supported it.

At the same time, the Republican leadership was whipsawed by a group of hard-line conservatives, dubbed the "yellowjackets" and hailing mainly from more prosperous Sun Belt districts. These are the true believers in the Reaganite gospel of smaller government and lower deficits, and they feel that their party has gone too far in appealing the moderates. At week's end, they signaled their intentions to push for a more draconian budget, backed by right-wingers from both parties. But this same faction lost a fight in the Senate during the week, when a supplemental spending bill was adopted containing a \$5 billion rescue program for the housing industry. The chief sponsor was Senator Richard G. Lugar, a moderate Republican from Indiana who faces re-election in a state staggered by unemployment. Defying doctrine, he said that the economy simply could not wait for Reaganomics to work.

The Democrats are hardly better off. Last year the conservative Sun Belters known as "boll weevils" helped push through the Reagan program; this year, 23 stuck with the President, mainly from the energy-rich areas of Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma. But a similar number came back home, and like the rebellious gypsy moths, they tend to represent areas that can no longer afford their faith in the Administration's economic policies.

Many of the boll weevils who returned to the Democratic fold report their constituents are not nearly so enthusiastic about the President and his program as they were a year ago. Representative Ed Jenkins of Georgia made a typical comment: "They're not sure that he's right any more. Their confidence has been shaken."

Like the rock-ribbed conservatives in the Republican Party, doctrinaire Democratic liberals, particularly from the Congressional Black Caucus, are fed up with compromise. Many of them voted against their own party's budget. And even some Democratic leaders concede privately that they might be better off losing, so that they will be able to blame the economy squarely on the Republicans.

Where to now? Most analysts think that a budget still has to be put together in the broad middle ground of Congress, with support from both parties. On Friday, Representative Jones suggested "splitting the difference" between the Republican and Democratic plans that lost the day before. But he warned that such a compromise could only pass with "vigorous" backing from both parties.

Of course, President Reagan and Democratic leaders tried, and failed, to negotiate just such a compromise earlier this spring. And with the "Balkanization" of Congress, as Representative Jim Wright called it, so intense, the task will be no easier now. Probably only one thing can stick enough peas to the knife — the fear of having no budget at all, and what that could mean for the economy.

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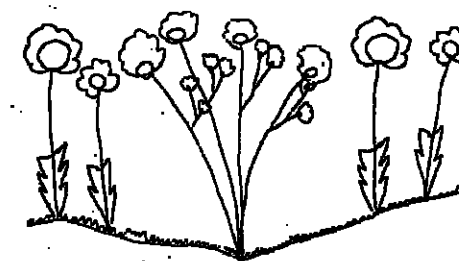
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# The Economy

## Two Business Scholars Expose Management Gospel Gone Wrong

Harvard's Hayes and Abernathy say the best and brightest have led American business astray. Companies are listening.

By LESLIE WAYNE

**I**T is a long way from the manicured grounds of the Harvard Business School to the sweat and grime of an assembly line. Most of the students who emerge from this elite campus for choice jobs in industry will come no closer to steel mills than the case studies they dissected. But from this cloistered world, two professors, Robert H. Hayes and William J. Abernathy, have come forth with a stream of articles and ideas that are beginning to reshape the thinking of American business about why the nation's bedrock industries, such as autos and steel, have withered in the face of foreign competition.

The two men's teachings are challenging what is taught in the best business schools, promulgated by armies of consultants, and honed to a high polish at such citadels of management as the General Electric Company. With some success, they are chipping away at such notions as blaming the ills of American industry on heavy-handed regulation, the avarice of labor unions, the decline of the work ethic, the oil crisis or the Japanese.

Instead — or so the Hayes-Abernathy thesis contends — we have found the enemy, and it is us. The two business scholars argue that the best in American management has gone seriously astray. They teach that American management doctrine has drifted away from basics and neglected the factory floor and the assembly line — the front lines. That neglect and an excessive concern for short-run profits explain much about the failings of American industry, they say.

Their thesis is penetrating the offices of corporate America and finding a receptive audience, particularly in those industries suffering the most. "Hayes and Abernathy are insightful writers that lead us to do a great deal of introspection," said James K. Bakken, vice president of operations staff at the Ford Motor Company. "They were helpful in saying, 'Gentlemen, you may have your eye on the wrong ball.'"

"Abernathy's ideas have led the way to some of the changes in our thinking in how we face the Japanese challenge," said Richard F. Davis, manager of constituency communications at General Motors. "We were looking for things that Abernathy pointed out might help us in this serious situation with the Japanese."

What Bob Hayes and Bill Abernathy are saying flies in the face of accepted wisdom. These days corporate managers are taught, as the dominant approach, that big corporations, whatever their nature, whatever they produce, can and should be managed like an investment portfolio. Their numerous divisions should be seen mainly as so many possible investments competing for scarce funds.

Some businesses are to be invested in, others harvested for their cash. All are held strictly accountable by the common yardstick of the return they earn from the resources they consume. If a business falters, it becomes an immediate candidate for abandonment, in favor of some pursuit with a greater short-term profit.

Mr. Hayes and Mr. Abernathy contend that this approach breeds caution through an overdependence on analytical detachment — what they call "managerial remote control." They say it is an approach that exalts financial analysis, not line operations. It rewards executives who see their company primarily as a competing set of rates of return, who manage by numbers and computer printouts.

Further, they say, it is a seductive doctrine that promises the bright student a quick path to the top and that piles its rewards on executives who force through impressive short-term performance, at indeterminate cost to long-term health. Fearing any dip in today's profits, American companies keep research and technology on short rations, skimping the investment critically needed to insure competitiveness tomorrow.

Bob Hayes, who is 45 years old, and Bill Abernathy, 48, are an academic odd couple — Hayes is logical and methodical, Abernathy is free flowing and inventive — who made their mark when they collaborated on what has become a classic article in management literature. The article, "Managing Our Way to Economic Decline," which appeared in the July-August 1980 issue of the prestigious Harvard Business Review, expressed the conviction



Prof. Robert Hayes, left, and Prof. William Abernathy at the Harvard Business School

that American managers had fallen into a self-defeating preoccupation with short-term profits at the expense of long-term bets on technology.

The article brought a response unlike anything else in the Review, before or since. "That article received more attention than anything else published in the Review," Alan M. Kantrow, an associate editor at the Review, recalled. "They were willing to stand up and say the emperor has no clothes."

The article was the beginning. Since then, in packed courses at the business school, in seminars with corporate executives, and in separate articles in the business review, often with other co-authors, Mr. Abernathy and Mr. Hayes have pressed their independent ideas and interests.

Mr. Abernathy has delved deeper into the auto industry. His research enabled him to put a number on the "landed cost advantage" of Japanese cars — about \$1,500 a vehicle — a finding that was seized upon by the Department of Transportation, by Detroit and by the United Automobile Workers. "Prior to that, no one realized the extent of the Japanese cost advantage," said Mr. Davis of General Motors.

Mr. Hayes has taken the message into the corporations, where he generally finds an attentive reception.

At TRW, for instance, where Mr. Hayes conducted a series of executive seminars, Richard A. Eastburn, director of management development, says that the days when managers made short-term gains by milking assets are over, and that promotions are being made more slowly to give employees more experience before moving up. Mr. Eastburn credits Mr. Hayes as being "another voice

[who] added a great deal more substance than others did before."

At General Electric, where Mr. Hayes has conducted seminars and led its executives on tours to Japanese factories, the noted emphasis on financial techniques is giving way to new attention to technology and improved production. Individual manufacturing units are deciding what Japanese techniques can be adapted to their own setting. "The manufacturing people are the most results-oriented people; you don't sell them easily," said Richard P. Kennedy, communications manager in G.E.'s manufacturing consulting group.

More recently, Mr. Hayes and Mr. Abernathy have turned their eye on differences between the American and Japanese manufacturers and have made numerous trips to Japanese factories. In separate articles, they have skeptically questioned the prevailing explanations of the Japanese advantage. As the fortunes of the American automobile industry continue to sag, their work has gained wide attention in Detroit.

Where American business executives argue that the Japanese advantage is largely rooted in factors unique to Japan — lower labor costs, more automated and newer factories, strong government support and a homogeneous culture — Mr. Hayes and Mr. Abernathy say nonsense. They assert that the key difference lies in other factors, which American business could readily match.

The Japanese factory, Mr. Hayes notes in his writings, is not the prototype of the future that many American businessmen believe, but rather a present-day factory doing simple things well. The Japanese succeed be-

cause they pay attention to such basics as a clean workplace, preventive maintenance for machinery, a desire to make their production process error-free and an attitude that "thinks quality" at every stage in the production process.

Contrast this with American factories that are sloppy, where machines are overworked and abused, where quality is viewed as a barrier to lowered production costs, where defects are ignored and where management and workers are adversaries.

"We must compete with the Japanese as they do with us: by always putting our best resources and talent to work doing the basic things a little better, every day, over a long period of time. It is that simple — and that difficult," writes Mr. Hayes.

Mr. Abernathy, whose particular specialty is the auto industry, notes that it isn't flashy fins, style, slick marketing or broad distribution networks — solutions that Detroit has often turned to — that have put Americans in Japanese cars.

Instead, he says, the Japanese have lowered production costs and improved quality by maintaining a superior manufacturing process that considers the production line as a competitive weapon. To compete, American manufacturers must move from an era in which there was little change in production systems to a time of great turbulence in equipment, employee skills and organization — elements that run counter to a belief in standardization.

It was Mr. Abernathy who developed the concept of the "productivity dilemma," which helps explain why Detroit has gone through such pain in adapting to new competition and a changed market. He finds its predicament rooted in enormous pressures for cost savings that constantly pushed for more efficient manufacturing. As manufacturing became more efficient, it also became more standardized, more rigid. The gains from economies of scale came at the expense of innovation and technological competitiveness.

These powerful thoughts started in an innocent enough setting — in the hiking paths in the Swiss Alps near Vevey, where Mr. Hayes was working as the faculty chairman for Harvard's International Senior Managers' Program and Mr. Abernathy was doing independent research. Though the two had been colleagues on the Harvard faculty in operations management, their interests had differed and their paths never crossed until that summer of 1979 in Switzerland.

"There were only two people interested in operations management in Vevey," recalled Mr. Hayes, in an interview in his spacious Harvard office. "Needless to say, we got very close."

"I didn't know Bob very well," Mr. Abernathy recalled recently, "but we'd end up talking on the bus to work every day. I was mad when I was in Switzerland. I had lived in Germany for four years at the heyday of American industrial supremacy, and now I felt poor in Switzerland. I felt angry that American industrial might had fallen to a point that an American citizen had to feel somewhat impoverished living in Switzerland. I started talking about it on the bus and on hikes we would take at lunch and we began to find that our ideas coincided — that American business had done this to us by making poor long-run strategic decisions, especially with productivity and technology."

As Mr. Abernathy brooded over all this, Mr. Hayes, who grew up in the middle of Kansas, was going through a turmoil intellectually. What he learned in searching for materials to teach his class, in talking with European businessmen and from his visits to European factories did not square with what he had previously believed about productivity.

"One time I was teaching a class to European businessmen, and I began to list all the standard reasons for the decline in American productivity — organized labor, government regulation, the baby boom — and they all looked at me with polite amusement. They said I was totally off the mark since all the same factors applied to Europe and more, and their productivity was increasing," recalled Mr. Hayes. "I walked out of that classroom, confused and shaken. I had felt comfortable in that I had known the reasons and now they were exploded."

Their discussions about the differences between American and European business led to the decision to write the article that became "Managing Our Way to Economic Decline." It was not in the Business Review's usual mold. More colloquial and anecdotal than academic, it indicted American business and implicitly indicted the business schools themselves — not least the Harvard Business School — for imbuing a generation of business leaders with the wrong ideas.

Even though the thoughts weren't entirely new — American business has long been criticized for its short-term orientation — their article had impact because it came at the right time, because of their academic credentials and because they expressed what others also felt.

"They really hit a nerve," said Professor Kim B. Clark, an assistant professor of business administration at Harvard who has worked with both men.

### THE WEEK IN BUSINESS

## A Key Economic Indicator Shows a Gain

The index of leading economic indicators rose eight-tenths of 1 percent last month, the Commerce Department said. It was the first gain since April 1981 and while the rise was a bit larger than expected, it was greeted with caution. Commerce Secretary Baldrige said it would be "premature to draw any firm conclusions about the timing of a business upturn."

Interest rates eased as Citibank dropped its prime rate to 16 percent from 16½ percent, the first such reduction by a major bank since March. The Federal Reserve said the nation's basic money supply fell \$1.3 billion in the latest week.

The Big Three auto makers reported that their mid-May sales rose 15.3 percent, the second consecutive period of new-car sales gains.

The nation's foreign trade deficit dipped to \$322 million in April, the closest it has come to balance since a one-month surplus more than six years ago, the Commerce Department reported.

Britain and Norway said they would raise the price of North Sea oil on June 1 by about \$2.50 a barrel, to \$33.50. Analysts say the increase was the latest sign that the oil glut is ending.

Japan announced new tariff reduc-

### G.M. Adds a Japanese Car

General Motors said its Japanese affiliate, Isuzu Motors, will develop and produce a subcompact car that is expected to replace the Chevrolet Chevette by 1984. The pact marks the first time that G.M. has turned to a foreign manufacturer to replace an existing line. It marks a key change in direction under Roger B. Smith (right), who became G.M. chairman in January 1980. Amid the domestic auto industry's general woes, G.M. profits fell to \$333 million in 1981 from \$762 million in 1980. Analysts saw the shift to a "Made-in-Japan" model as an admission that even with a favorable labor contract, G.M. cannot build a subcompact that is cost competitive with the Japanese.



tions on computers, machine tools and nuclear reactors in a second set of actions intended to lower trade barriers and reduce criticism by the United States and other countries of excessive Japanese market protectionism.

Eight of 10 Common Market nations

supported Britain in the Falklands crisis with an indefinite continuance of trade sanctions against Argentina.

A Federal judge ordered all parties to the proposed antitrust settlement between the Justice Department and the American Telephone and Tele-

graph Company to file new, clarifying comment and prepare for a public hearing on the plan by late June.

United Airlines, the nation's largest domestic air carrier, said it was seeking to cancel or delay delivery of 20 Boeing 767's worth \$1 billion.

Firestone reported an 81.5 percent drop in second-quarter net income, while Deere posted a 98.7 percent decline.

Disclosure that the Environmental Protection Agency has been advising oil companies since October 1980 that they could increase the lead content of regular gasoline 10 percent above the official limit of 0.5 of a gram per gallon spurred protests by environmental and consumer groups.

The bankruptcy trustee for the Milwaukee Road told a Federal judge he had agreed to sell the railroad to the Grand Trunk Corporation, which would assume \$253 million of its \$300 million debts.

The House rejected a Reagan-backed budget calling for a \$103.5 billion deficit along with other proposals. The Senate rebuffed the Administration by approving a \$5 billion program to aid the ailing housing industry through a mortgage subsidies.

#### The New York Stock Exchange

##### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED MAY 28, 1982

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg.
Chl Svc	2,527,400	37	—
Wm Cm	2,452,000	47	— 4%
IBM	2,385,800	61½	— 1%
ATT	2,385,800	52½	— %
Exxon	2,350,700	28	— %
Tandy	2,149,600	26½	— 1%
G Mot	2,008,100	42½	— %
Mattel	1,954,200	16½	— 2%
Dreer	1,626,400	19	— 1%
Schlmb	1,530,700	43½	— 3%
Halbt	1,499,400	30½	— 2%
Phil Pet	1,467,100	30½	— %
Citicorp	1,442,400	25½	— 1
Deere	1,442,100	25½	— 3%
Es Kqd	1,410,000	71½	— %

##### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	578	428
Declines	1,289	1,494
Total Issues	2,113	2,112
New Highs	38	57
New Lows	203	118

##### VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	222,413,680	5,373,532,807
Same Per. 1981	212,583,280	4,975,538,730

##### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Change
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##### New York Stock Exchange

Index	75.40	72.88	73.11	-1.86
Transp	65.77	63.39	63.71	-2.04
Util	39.11	38.35	38.36	-0.85
Finance	67.65	65.18	65.39	-2.47
Composites	66.52	64.98	64.55	-1.71

#### Standard & Poor's

400 Index	129.5	124.1	124.8	-3.18
20 Transp	18.2	17.1	17.3	-0.79
40 Util	54.8	53.1	53.3	-1.74
40 Financial	13.5	12.7	12.8	-0.67
500 Stocks	116.0	111.1	111.8	-3.01

#### Dow Jones

30 Index	845.3	815.5	818.5	-16.36
20 Transp	335.4	317.3	320.1	-13.42
15 Util	114.4	108.8	111.0	-2.86
85 Comb	331.0	317.8	319.7	-2.69

#### The American Stock Exchange

##### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED MAY 28, 1982

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg.
DomeP	1,799,500	6½	— %
Wang	1,001,100	28	— %
Univis	438,900	10½	— %
ChmpH	410,200	2½	— %
TaxAfr	410,200	5½	— %
FedRes	387,900	1	— %
GNCd	379,700	13	— 1
RangRO	308,800	6½	— %
Somk	283,600	2½	— %
Detapd	282,900	19½	— %

##### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	249	209
Declines	527	571
Total Issues	930	925
New Highs	16	30
New Lows	60	54

##### VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	18,842,136	442,517,080
Same Per. 1981	27,396,915	598,198,910



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## A Chef in the Kitchen at Last

It may be no favor to Al Haig to observe that the Reagan Presidency has finally found its "single voice" in foreign affairs — the slightly hoarse voice of its Secretary of State. That's not saying much for an Administration whose life is one-third over, and it could arouse the Potomac cannibals to new combat.

Still, whatever shenanigans may rage in the kitchen, the Administration now speaks to the world with some rhetorical coherence. It has been achieved through a series of sensible speeches by Mr. Reagan and Mr. Haig, the muzzling of the Secretary's critics at the Pentagon and White House and the quiet traffic management of the new national security adviser, William Clark.

A world that had heard only campaign babble about two Chinas and five different Russias and unlimited limited holocaust and uncompromising symbolic cold war, can assume at last there's a government at work.

Mr. Haig's considerable achievement has been the recapture, from inexperienced rivals, of the policy ground left him by the Carter Administration.

Arms control stands again at the center of a still uncertain relationship with the Soviet Union. Camp David is again recognized as the only promising pressure point for Arab-Israeli accord. The China tie is again seen as a fragile but useful prop in Asia. The Western alliance is again honored as a force worth courting. And a President who would have waged his own Falkland War for the Panama Canal Zone has come to recognize the psychic imperatives of Latin America; indeed, he now defines land reform as the price of further aid to El Salvador.

The stage is thus set for more than rhetoric. For the Administration finally to have a foreign policy, it needed first to recognize hard realities. Now it needs to make some hard choices.

The choice concerning Moscow was never the timing of talks, but their purpose. As he acknowledges the SALT II treaty to be observable after all, Mr. Reagan has to choose between other progressive steps toward arms control and an all-or-nothing negotiation that is sure to be outtripped by technology. Can he arm and disarm simultaneously or are unrelenting hostility and fear his only props? If he is so confident of the West's economic superiority, how does he propose to use it to achieve a tolerable coexistence with the Soviet bloc?

In the Middle East, where there is no tolerable strategic choice between Arab friends and Israeli allies, the Reagan team has yet to define an American approach to the Palestinian problem. The contending forces will not be pacified with economic and military aid; but that aid could add muscle to American diplomatic efforts that aim to push the parties toward peace.

And will the courtship of European allies permit hard choices about the terms of East-West and West-West trade or dissolve into mere platitudes? Will policies in this hemisphere become rooted in a principled quest for social and political justice? Will the third world be recognized, in aid and trade, as something more than a stage for Soviet-American jousts?

The same questions faced the Reagan team on Inauguration Day. The time since wasted on innocent, often ignorant debate cannot be regained. But as Mr. Haig has taught his President, the fires of hostility, in Bonn or Peking, are — for a time — contained by thoughtful words.

One can only hope Mr. Haig has won more than a rhetorical triumph. He has proved that his department's crew of professional analysts is best equipped to define the real choices abroad. It is from his menu that Mr. Reagan should now choose his courses.

## Congress, in Easy Payments

If there is any group the public distrusts more than politicians, it's used-car dealers. Congress seems bent on proving you can't trust either.

Between 1978 and 1981, the National Automobile Dealers' Association contributed more than \$1 million to the campaigns of incumbent Congressmen. Now, to return the favor, Congress has voted overwhelmingly to kill a modest Government rule to curb abuses in used-car sales.

The object of Congress's wrath was a Federal Trade Commission rule requiring used-car dealers to disclose known defects. The dealers argued that the rule would force them to inspect cars before sale, adding \$150 to the purchase price.

But that complaint was hard to take seriously; the rule expressly stated that no one would be penalized for failure to inspect. Most car dealers, it seems, objected to the establishment of any Government barrier between them and their more gullible customers.

One deterrent to such Congressional vetoes may be public exposure. The voters should note the legislators who defeated the rule, alongside their recorded 1978-81 campaign contributions from the auto dealers.

A better remedy would be to eliminate the temptation. Congress gave itself the power to veto Federal Trade Commission rules in 1980. Before that, it had occasionally expressed displeasure with the F.T.C. by cutting its budget. But that process of hearings and debate put a buffer between an individual Congressman and lobbyists.

Congress has a perfect right to reverse F.T.C. rules by statute. But some legal students believe that a veto over regulatory rulings is unconstitutional. Congress, however, need not wait for a current test of that premise in the Supreme Court. The best way to stop Government-by-the-highest-bidder is to repeal the veto law.

\*NEW YORK: D'Amato, \$6,500; Carman, \$200; Carney, \$2,200; Conable, \$50; Fish, \$0; Horton, \$1,500; Kemp, \$2,500; LeBoutillier, \$300; Lenz, \$2,100; Martin, \$1,200; McGrath, \$2,000; Mitchell, \$1,200; Mulford, \$1,000; Solomon, \$1,300; Stetten, \$1,000; Wordley, \$1,000. NEW JERSEY: Brady \$0 (appointed 1982). COURTESY, \$7,500; Forsythe, \$3,000; Hughes, \$0; Rinaldo, \$2,750; Ronkema, \$5,000. CONNECTICUT: DeNardis, \$0.

## In Memoriam

If the district attorney's office releases the remains, a memorial service is to be held in Los Angeles for 17,000 aborted fetuses and embryos recovered from the backyard of a Santa Monica medical laboratory. President Reagan will probably not attend, but he says in a letter to the California Pro Life Medical Association, "Your decision to hold a memorial service for these children is most fitting and proper. On such an occasion we must strengthen our resolve to end this national tragedy."

Mr. Reagan is correct: America's high abortion rate does constitute a national tragedy. More than a million women — victims of contraceptive failure or ignorance, or recipients of the knowledge that they are carrying a damaged fetus — chose to terminate their pregnancies in 1981.

That is their right, but nonetheless a decision

they are invariably reluctant to make. Given the cutbacks in funds for Federal family planning programs and the Reagan Administration's proposed "Squeal Rule," even more women might have to make it. That assumes, of course, that they don't lose the constitutional right to do so, which since 1973 has decreased abortion-related deaths by 73 percent. Many people, however, think women should lose it, among them the President who endorses a fetus memorial service.

Perhaps Mr. Reagan would endorse another service as well: a memorial to the millions of women who died because of back-alley abortions. All Americans should want to join a ceremony that mourns our female ancestors. And if safe, legal abortion does not remain the American woman's right, we may be mourning our descendants as well.

## The Editorial Notebook

### Remembering the NOK

The following passage is from "Neverlight," a new novel about Vietnam by Donald Pfarrer.

He was Lieutenant Commander something.

She hardly saw his uniform and did not see his face at all, but she caught the rank. Richard had said all Lieutenant commanders were soft in the head. She forgot the reason, but Richard declared that even good men went bad on promotion to that rank.

Inside she took off her jacket, and the officer could not but see her excellence.

She said: "You have to be gone before my daughter comes."

Every repetitious governmental event has a form and this is the form of this event.

The Casualty Assistance Call Officer (CACO) does not speculate. He tells the primary next of kin (NOK) only what is known of the death, that a telegram will confirm his verbally

### 'The CACO Does Not Leave The NOK Alone'

furnished information, and that a letter from the commanding officer of the deceased service member may amplify upon it. . . . After the initial notification the CACO does not leave the NOK alone. He assists her in telephoning a friend or relative and remains with her until the arrival of the friend or relative. . . .

In the full performance of his duty the CACO will thoroughly cover the rights, privileges, and options of the NOK in these areas: burial allowance/reimbursements, government headstone, memorial flag, military honors, military funeral with firing squad and/or bugler, arrears of pay,

death gratuity, personal effects of the deceased service member, decorations and awards, transportation for dependents and household goods, insurance, social security, uniformed services identification and privilege card, hospital and medical care, exchange and commissary privileges, Navy Relief Society aid, and other appropriate assistance. . . .

She imagined that the Lieutenant commander still sat at the table and said: "He was going to the assistance of a wounded man. . . ." [Then came a series of sharp, hard contractions in her throat. She gave voice for the first time, to release the pain, but the sounds she made were mere inarticulate cries. She couldn't say "Richard" until much later, when she sat quietly, staring out the window at the green leaves of the maples.

She prepared herself, because she wanted to speak. Very carefully she said: "Richard. My beloved."

## Letters

### Our Seaborne Window of Vulnerability

To the Editor:

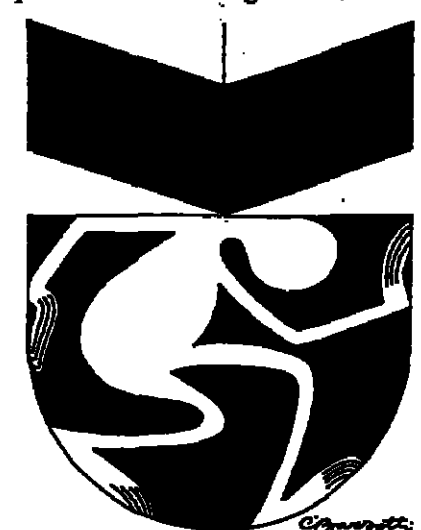
The most important consideration in the sinking of the British destroyer Sheffield — as well as other British ships — in the Falklands battle is not so much that the vessel was devastated by a single French-made Exocet missile but that this should have come as a surprise to so many and that, at this late date in our naval planning, there are suddenly so many questions about these plans.

Perhaps there has been so much attention focused on the arguments concerned with conventional versus nuclear or "limited nuclear" warfare that the missile war (which has yet to be fought) has been neglected. Thus, the demise of the Sheffield, a relatively new ship, launched in 1975, comes as a shocker because it is really the first example of the effectiveness of a missile on a live, combative, moving target.

In recent years, the development of offensive weaponry has far outstripped the capacity to defend against it. At the same time, questions have been asked about our naval forces and their role and performance in a missile-age war.

When one comes right to the point,

the Navy has not really answered these questions but rather, in traditional fashion, has plowed ahead with plans for a much larger fleet, of the



World War II carrier task force type, as if nothing had changed.

A lot has changed — but least of all ships.

The missile age is a cheap-shot one. Detection is virtually impossible under many normal conditions en-

countered at sea. Missiles may be launched by planes, small ships, big ships and submarines. There can be no real defense against any kind of concentrated attack.

All ships, not just the big ones, are, suddenly, sitting ducks. Our own submariners think so; the Air Force thinks so; naval air units think so.

The surface fleet on naval drawing boards is unaffordable both in dollars and, for the first time, in lives destined to be lost in the sinking of defenseless vessels. The nuclear carrier, of course — the center and sacred cow of naval planning — is the easiest target of all. When Admiral Rickover recently gave his battle life as "about two days," he was being kind. Two hours would be more accurate.

The best thing the President, who is no boat-lover anyway, can do at this critical time is to scratch two nuclear carriers and their retinue from the budget, replace our very junior and inexperienced Secretary of Navy with someone who remembers World War II and order a full-scale study of the role and capabilities of surface ships in the missile age.

FRANK D. WINDER  
New Haven, May 19, 1982

### The Taxpayers' Budget Amendment

To the Editor:

Your "Leaders, Not Laws, Balance Budgets" editorial of May 3 prompts me to suggest that we give credit where credit is due.

In the case of the Tax-Limitation/Balanced Budget Amendment, it appears that it is the hard-pressed taxpayers (and not leaders, and not, initially, laws) who will perform take charge and balance the budget. Current polls show that an overwhelming two-thirds of the voting public now favor this amendment.

The Federal record of uncontrolled spending appears to have snapped the voter beyond the limits of long-suffering tolerance toward free-spending "old-guard" leadership and the ineptitudes of past efforts to control budgets.

Whether The Times approves or not, the public now blames the spending policies of Congress and past Administrations for a world of enormous inflation, unprecedented interest rates, out-of-control unemployment and looming bankruptcies.

What this means is that the American people no longer buy the bromide that "government deficits provide a cushion of purchasing power that limits the loss of output and unem-

ployment" as a justification for the destruction of their purchasing power. Moreover, under the amendment the public would enjoy a measure of control over those who would unbalance the budget by exercising the power of the vote.

The requirement that a senator or representative vote openly for a deficit or tax increase is a powerful constraint on free spending. Any temptation to recidivism would need to be well considered, and would need a super-majority of a three-fifths vote in both houses to lift spending limitations (not a simple majority, as reported).

Public response to the President's call for Congressional passage of the Tax-Limitation/Balanced Budget Amendment has been running 7 to 1 in favor. Our 600,000-member group has worked for seven years to introduce this legislation in Congress; we trust the common sense of the taxpayer. For it will ultimately be the taxpayer who will fire the "magic bullet" of fiscal responsibility with his vote.

Congress has taken note of this. Has The Times?

LEWIS K. UHLER  
President  
National Tax-Limitation Committee  
Washington, May 11, 1982

### To Free Wallenberg

To the Editor:

It is both ironic and deplorable that Sweden has waited 20 years to release some 42 volumes of reports and eyewitness accounts concerning the fate of World War II hero Raoul Wallenberg (news story May 25).

Had the information been made public earlier to those in a position to help, he may have been able to live his life with dignity, with his family, instead of in the infamous Soviet gulag.

For years, the Government of Sweden has engaged in silent diplomacy in seeking the release of Raoul Wallenberg from the Soviet prison system, to no avail. Now it tells those of us who have fought so hard for his release that we can finally see their documents. If, as Swedish Under Secretary Leif Leifland claims, his Government is now "working on the supposition that [Wallenberg] is still alive," then it's about time. Indeed, we pray it is not too late.

TOM LANTOS  
Member of Congress, 11th Dist., Calif.  
Washington, May 25, 1982

### Ebbets Field Error

To the Editor:

As is well known, I am a genial, placid man. Thus I have not fired off angry missives as your writers repeatedly in recent months confused nautical miles (4,800) with statute miles (4,000) in covering the range of the Mark III SS-20, or at their moving Ascension Island around the map as though it were a chess piece: Richard Halloran (news story May 21) slid it a thousand miles closer to the Falkland Islands than is customary, or accurate.

But enough is enough. Trivial errors can be tolerated, but when George Vecsey [Sports of The Times, May 20] installs a "right-field wall" in Ebbets Field, someone must blow the whistle. There was a chain-link-style screen.

In the future, please do not allow your existential approach to political facts to infiltrate the sports section.

JOHN P. ROCHE  
Medford, Mass., May 21, 1982

The writer is academic dean of Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

### Arms Talks Must Aim at Overall Parity for Equal Security

To the Editor:

The sardonic tone of your May 19 editorial on Moscow's stand on the resumption of Soviet-American negotiations to limit and reduce strategic nuclear arms is unwarranted and does not lend itself to approaching the issues at hand constructively.

You err in suggesting that the Soviet side "will come to the table, with three conditions." In outlining Moscow's stand, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that the Soviet Union has consistently been for the speediest resumption of negotiations without conditions. At the same time, he suggested three measures whose adoption could be conducive to success.

He spoke of the need to maintain parity. The issue here is not whether President Reagan believes "the Russians have superiority." After all, it is part of human nature to harbor some erroneous beliefs.

And his repeated assertions on the issue have been questioned and refuted by the most authoritative U.S. experts and political figures, often through articles in The Times. So far, neither the President nor his close advisers have been able to come up with valid arguments and facts confirming that parity in strategic forces does not exist and that the balance is in favor of the Soviet Union.

Of course, if one weapons system of the strategic triad is singled out, one can find disparity. But there is ample and effective compensation for such disparity in the triad's other components.

Thus, there is ground to be wary of the latest U.S. proposals, which would exclude from negotiations the strategic arms systems the U.S. is most actively developing.

This lends credence to the assumption that Washington intends to secure for itself conditions which would enable it to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union.

That is why Moscow is calling for the maintenance of the overall existing parity in strategic forces and for the negotiations to be conducted under principles of equality and equal security.

After all, if Washington reserves the right to reject proposals which it deems not to its advantage, or makes new ones, then the same right should not be denied to the other side. Success in any negotiation is hardly to be expected if one side insists on disregarding the legitimate interests of the other and on imposing conditions favorable to it alone.

The "positive achievements" of previous agreements are self-evident, one of the main gains being the establishment of ceilings on strategic arms systems, enabling the two sides to begin without meandering negotiations on their reduction.

And this brings me to the Soviet proposal to freeze quantitatively and limit drastically the modernization of existing strategic arms systems.

By making this proposal, Moscow is not attempting to play up to the growing nuclear freeze movement in the United States. It is Washington's enhanced militarization drive which is effecting an unprecedented growth of this movement.

The Soviet side is suggesting a freeze because it would facilitate reaching a mutually acceptable agreement; otherwise, concord might be procrastinated by the appearance of new arms systems.

The issue now, as your editorial notes, is whether the United States wants to talk or whether, through talks, it wants to "buy time to arm." So far, U.S. actions tend to support the latter assumption, and it is the new Washington proposals which can be described as "ice packaged as ice cream."

VLADIMIR ALEKSEEV  
Observer, Novosti Press Agency  
Moscow, May 24, 1982

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## Two Falkland Taboos

By Anthony Burgess

In other words, politics has nothing to do with morality.

And yet it is surely possible to argue that the political system that Britain shares with the United States — a system based on parliamentary democracy and a free universal franchise, as well as a free press and the right of free expression in the arts — has everything to do with basic principles of morality — basic, that is, to the whole of humanity and not to a particular political ideology.

It is not wrong to say that the Poles and the Russians and the Argentines have that right — propounded in the United States Declaration of Independence — to self-determination that the democracies take for granted.

The corollary to this should be that, where we see tyranny in the world, we should try to extirpate it. We are given the opportunity to do this only when the pretext of an alliance or some similar formality provides the opportunity.

Britain went to war with Germany in 1939 not because Germany was mistreating its nationals but because it was violating the right of an ally not to be invaded. The United States went to war with Germany in 1941 because Germany declared war on the United States. But the true issue of the war was a moral issue,

and it had as much to do with the German treatment of its own nationals as with the postures of external aggression.

The reluctance to take a moral stand has everything to do with the fear of the physical consequences, but this reluctance can be dissolved when the terms of a formal contract have to be fulfilled.

The relationship between Britain and the Falkland Islands is a formal one. There are cultural affinities between the respective inhabitants, but there are the affinities of geographical contiguity and commerce between Argentina and what it calls Las Malvinas.

I doubt whether Britain would be so pedantic about Argentine rights, about the development of closer cultural and linguistic relations between the islands and the mainland if only Argentina were a democracy. But Argentina is run by a corrupt military oligarchy and is demanding, in the name of historic rights, the opportunity to extend its illiberalism to a people nurtured in a freer tradition.

Hence, it seems to me that there can be no questioning of the justice of the British claim to haul down the alien flag. This justice must not be seen in terms of history nor opposed in terms of the archaism of the colonial principle. The British just happen to be the one democratic nation in some ways luckily called to the opposing of a tyranny.

If the British flag once again flies permanently over those windy islands, it must not be regarded as a British victory but as a victory for a democracy that chance called on to be aggressive. It is all a question of morality.

Copyright © 1982 Anthony Burgess  
Anthony Burgess, the British novelist, is, author, most recently, of "Earthly Powers."

WASHINGTON, May 29 — On Memorial Day weekend, of all times, the Argentine generals, of all people, have been lecturing the world on the horrors of war at the United Nations, of all places.

Having made war to seize the Falklands, rejected the personal appeals of President Reagan to call off their invasion, dismissed Secretary of State Haig's proposals for a peaceful settlement and violated their treaty commitments under the United Nations Charter not to use force to settle territorial disputes, it might have been expected that at least during this remembrance day for the dead of past wars, they would have had the decency to be silent.

Pray silence, then, for the facts. This has been the bloodiest century in the history of the human race. It has suffered through 59 wars between nations with over 29 million combat dead, and 64 civil wars with almost six million casualties — not mentioning the tens of millions of civilians slaughtered on the side. This is the meaning of war, and what we are asked to remember on Memorial Day.

Yet the generals in Buenos Aires are insisting that the aggressor has the right to make war and take up arms and that the defender does not; that the British, who have dismantled the greatest empire in history, are fighting for colonial control over a few rocky islands of no importance to them; and that the United States, by supporting Britain, is somehow being unfaithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter, which Argentina defied by going to war.

In the face of this outrageous proposition and all the bawling patriotism by the falling junta in Argentina, the Reagan Administration has reacted, probably wisely, with restraint, hoping for reconciliation, limitation of the killing, and ultimately a settlement of the dispute by negotiation.

But the only point of this war will be lost if in the common sadness over the

WASHINGTON

## Memorial Day 1982

By James Reston

casualties and the tricky diplomatic sophistries at the United Nations the principle of not using force to settle disputes between nations is forgotten.

On Memorial Day 1982, this is the presiding lesson: that war is not the answer to the tangles of a divided world, especially with the introduction of ever more killer conventional weapons, let alone nuclear weapons, and that anybody who puts the torch to this inflammable world is a menace to the human family.

"We must put ourselves and our rulers and our fellow men on trial," H.G. Wells wrote during the carnage of the First World War. "We must ask: what have you done, and what are you doing, to help or hinder the peace and order of mankind?"

"A time will come," Wells added, "when a politician who has willfully made war and promoted international dissension will be as sure of the dock and much sorer of the noose than a private homicide. It is not reasonable that those who gamble with men's lives should not stake their own."

This is not to prejudice the question of the ownership of the Falklands, but only to insist that it was Argentina that decided to settle the issue by force, and despite all the tardiness, staggering and blundering in London, not the British.

It may be that the greatest danger to the human family today is not a calculated war between the major and nuclear nations, but an accidental war between other nations with conventional weapons at critical strategic points in the world — for example, around the oilfields of the Middle East.

This, in addition to the problems of inflation, interest rates and world trade, is an issue the leaders of the industrial world meeting at Versailles in the next few days, and Presidents Reagan and Brezhnev, meeting personally later in the year somewhere else, may have to consider.

Maybe there is another question they should discuss but probably won't: namely how they are going to reconcile the power and emotion of independent nation-states with the obvious fact that they are all now confronted with the first world economy in history.

All of them talk a great deal about the "interdependence" of the modern world, in which none of them can settle its internal problems without the cooperation of the rest, but they don't cooperate but separate.

H.G. Wells foresaw this problem of nationalism and separatism long ago: "The urgent need for a great creative effort has become apparent..." he said. "It is manifest that unless some unity of purpose can be achieved in the world, unless the ever-more violent and disastrous incidents of war can be averted, unless some common control can be imposed on the heading waste of man's inheritance of coal, oil and moral energy that is now going on, the history of humanity must presently culminate in some sort of disaster, repeating and exaggerating the disaster of the great war, producing chaotic social conditions, and going on thereafter in a degenerative process toward extinction."

Well, as President Reagan is always saying, that is not a very happy prospect, but at least on Memorial Day it is something worth thinking about.



## On Communism's Poor

By Nick Eberstadt

first five-year plan had been formulated, in 1926, a total transformation of health conditions was under way. Between 1927 and 1928, life expectancy rose by nearly 50 percent. As for literacy, more than half of Russia's children were enrolled in school at the time of the October Revolution. In 1906, the Czar's Ministry of Education projected that illiteracy would be eliminated by the 1930's. Stalin's "crash" social programs did nothing to improve upon this timetable.

Fidel Castro has claimed that he "had to start practically from zero." This is untrue. Despite President Fulgencio Batista's misrule, Cuba was the richest country in the American tropics in the 1950's. Thirty years ago,

the only people in the Caribbean, or for that matter in the entire Spanish-speaking world, to eat better, live longer and read more proficiently than the Cubans were the Argentines. Two decades of revolutionary social policy have cost Cuba that lead. Today, Cuba is matched by Chile in literacy, and bested by Jamaica in infant health.

China's poor made indisputable gains under the first eight years of Maoist rule. Their progress, however, cannot be attributed solely to the party's program. Restoration of civil order after two decades of bloody turmoil had its effects as well. (The destitute and the marginalized are almost always better off under the rule of law

— any law — than fending for themselves in the midst of chaos.) After China completed reconstruction in the mid-1950's, its progress against poverty appears to have slowed markedly. Only in the last three years has China managed to re-attain the average levels of food consumption of the late 1920's and early 1930's.

Eastern Europe was rapidly solving its poverty problem in the decades before Red Army socialism; only Albania — which lacked its own alphabet until 1910 — had little to show for the interwar period. Few citizens of prewar Leipzig or Prague would have predicted that the Greeks would be the healthiest people east of the Elbe by 1980. Vietnam's record in health, literacy and nutrition has been distinctly inferior to nearby Thailand's; indeed, it is not clear that Vietnam's poor have fared any better than Indonesia's. On a world scale, North Korea's performance has been extremely im-

pressive; today, however, it is the South Koreans who are better fed and better educated. This was not so 25 years ago.

In short, while every longstanding Communist regime appears to have reduced both the extent and the severity of poverty in the society under its direction, available evidence does not suggest that Marxist-Leninist states have been particularly successful in accelerating the alleviation of material want. There is reason to suspect that "socialist construction" has actually impeded the struggle against poverty in a number of nations. Additional information on the plight of the poor in Marxist-Leninist countries would sharpen the picture, but it is unlikely to alter this conclusion.

Nick Eberstadt, author of "Poverty in China," is a visiting fellow at the Center for Population Studies, at Harvard University.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — For those who worry about world poverty, the plight of the poor in Marxist-Leninist nations should be an issue of the utmost interest and concern.

More than a third of mankind, after all, lives under governments that profess to be Communist. Most of these came to power in societies characterized by high death rates, widespread illiteracy and stark economic inequalities. Whatever their political-ideological differences, leaders of the Marxist-Leninist states are unanimous in their insistence that "socialism," as they define it, does more for the needy than any other approach to economic and social development. Those who worry about world poverty should ask: Do the facts at hand back up this claim? Do Communist policies seem to hasten escape from poverty?

By all accounts, Communist countries have made enormous exertions in the name of the poor. "Socialist

transformation" has typically involved the radical redistribution of land and other property in the countryside, rapid expansion of the public-health system, and mass campaigns to eradicate illiteracy. In the final analysis, however, progress against poverty has to be judged not by effort but by results. It is difficult to obtain information on health, nutrition, literacy and economic conditions under Communism, but enough is available to make some basic comparisons.

It would be highly inappropriate to idealize the societies that Marxist-Leninists inherited; at the same time, it would be misleading to portray them as helplessly drifting ever further into poverty. We remember that imperial Russia was a backward, unhappy country; what we have forgotten is that it was very rapidly catching up with the West. From 1880 to 1914, its economy expanded more rapidly than any in Europe. Even before the

PARIS, May 29 — President François Mitterrand, host at this week's Versailles economic summit, has brought about a quiet, and unexpected, change in French foreign policy during his first year in office.

His predominantly Socialist administration, with four Communists in the Cabinet, is on better terms with the U.S. than any French Government since President de Gaulle took his forces out of NATO a generation ago.

Ironically, it isn't politics for the French to say so out loud. And, of course, there are profound differences in the philosophy inspiring Paris and Washington now. But there is more in common on East-West strategic issues and more practical cooperation on defense between the two than has been the case for a long time.

There remains no question that France will refuse to reintegrate its forces in the alliance command or abandon its complete independence of military decision. But its leaders have come to accept as evident, rather than merely possible, that French forces would join in defending Germany against attack and that France would probably serve as a rear area for reinforcements and supplies from the U.S. in the event of a European war.

Things haven't reached the point yet of specific planning between France and the U.S. on how this might be done, but they are heading in that direction. This is of the greatest importance because a major weakness in NATO strategy has been the lack of territorial depth to bolster logistics for conventional defenses on the central front.

If the trend develops, it could lead to a shifting assessment of how long NATO could resist an assault before feeling obliged to consider the use of nuclear weapons.

France firmly supports the NATO decision to deploy medium-range missiles in Europe unless the Soviets remove their missiles targeted on Western Europe. This was also the policy

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### A Strange Match

By Flora Lewis

of former President Giscard d'Estaing, but there have been doubts about how a Socialist Government would view the East-West balance.

Now, the judgment here is that there may be general parity between Soviet and American strategic forces globally, but not in Europe. The French position is that there must be restoration of balance, at the lowest level possible, but if cuts can't be negotiated then U.S. missiles should be added.

Meanwhile, French relations with the Soviets have grown cold. Far from the Gaullist stand that France should be a bridge between East and West, the policy is that good French relations with the U.S. are a prerequisite for better relations with the Russians. Mr. Mitterrand has made a dizzying series of foreign trips, but he hasn't been to Moscow and doesn't have current plans to go.

A year before he was elected, he said that "nothing disposes me to postulate the necessity of the Atlantic alliance and I would be satisfied with a situation that would make it defunct." During the campaign, he repeatedly called for a basic review of the alliance and attacked "both blocs."

Such talk has disappeared. Now, officials say instead there should be a new look at the "duties" of members with the clear implication of strengthening

rather than diluting the partnership.

There is good personal rapport between Mr. Mitterrand and President Reagan, who will spend two days in Paris before the seven-nation summit. "He shows good will and I can talk to him," the French President says of Mr. Reagan. "He's not closed to discussion. It permits hope. Of course, his political theory is far from mine."

The most divisive issues between France and the U.S. now are how to deal with the world economic crisis and north-south relations. France refuses to go along with Washington's demand to cut down sharply on trade and credits for Moscow.

"We are not at war with the Soviets, we don't believe in a blockade," Mr. Mitterrand told American reporters. But, he added, the West should be "prudent" in delivering technology. There has also been rapprochement on the Middle East and Africa. Not only has Mr. Mitterrand renounced the grandiose gestures and rhetorical "initiatives" favored by his predecessors, he supports the Camp David treaty and his Government is talking with Israel about arms supplies.

This shift on the Middle East is considered one reason for the recent outbreak of terrorist attacks against the French, believed to be commanded by Syria. Mr. Mitterrand has ordered a counter-offensive on terrorism which presumably means French security agents are authorized to hit back, Israeli-style.

On Africa, change appears to have come more from Washington than Paris, with Mr. Reagan accepting the French argument that good relations with leftist governments on the continent help to reduce Soviet influence rather than enhancing it.

Even where there is flat disagreement, as on Central America, it doesn't seem to be abrasive. It's a strange match, Socialist France and conservative America, but it's working better than anyone foresaw.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Iran's military advances have created two critical problems for the conservative monarchies of the Persian Gulf, on whose stability much of the West's economy depends. Saudi and Gulf state leaders must seek to ensure that when the Iranian revolution reaches the border with Iraq, it does not spill over it and make its way down to the Gulf. And as it becomes clear that Iraq has lost the war, its Arab neighbors in the Gulf region must also prepare for a change of regime in Baghdad, where President Saddam Hussein has staked his power and prestige on the outcome of the war.

In order to contain the Iranians, the rulers of the oil states will have to make a difficult choice between negotiating with Teheran and confronting it — either diplomatically or with improved defenses.

The Kuwaitis, the most sophisticated of Gulf rulers, are thought to favor negotiation. Some Arab diplomatic sources say Kuwait has already prepared a plan by which, after the cessation of hostilities, both Iran and Iraq would be invited to join the Gulf Cooperation Council, which the six "oil-rich" formed last year. The declared *raison d'être* of the Council is to insulate member states — Saudi Arabia and the five Gulf states — from the dangers of great-power rivalry in the region. But some Council members may now be inclined to use the Council as a forum to smooth over any remaining rivalry between Iran and Iraq.

True, any reconciliation with the Shiite ayatollahs must seem distasteful for the Saudi ruling family, which reigns in the name of its own Sunni brand of Moslem orthodoxy. True, Iran's President, Hojatoleslam Ali Khamenei, may appear heavily ideological compared with his more statesmanlike predecessor, Abol-Hasan Bani-Sadr. True, Bahrain still holds 70 men arrested last December

## Iran, Iraq and The Gulf

By Helena Cobban

on suspicion of planning a pro-Iranian coup. But it was Ali Khamenei, too, who headed an Iranian diplomatic mission to the Saudi capital, Riyadh, in 1980, before he was president and before Iraqi forces invaded his country. And, more recently, the Iranian Foreign Minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, went out of his way to establish contact with his counterparts from the Arab Gulf states before and during the meeting of nonaligned countries in Kuwait in April.

Hanging over the whole question of the regional balance is the dead weight of demography. Ethnic divisions in the Iranian population of 35 million do not significantly affect the country's role in the Gulf region. In contrast, Iraq's 12.5 million people are dangerously split into three distinct ethnic and religious communities — Arab Sunnites, Arab Shites and Sunni Kurds — whose rivalries have only been exacerbated by the war. And the six member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council comprise only 7.5 million people between them, including a high proportion of immigrant workers, in an area nearly twice as big as Iran's.

Demography, and the enormous risks involved in broadening the confrontation in the Gulf, will thus probably act together to encourage the other Arab rulers there to reach a speedy understanding with the ayatollahs.

The oil-rich may have to pay for an alliance, contributing cash as reparations for the widespread damage Iraq has caused with the arms it bought with Gulf states' aid during the past 20 months. But by spearheading a new *entente* with Iran, the Gulf states could provide a powerful incentive to the Iranian ideologues to return from the traumas of war to the real world.

Concerning the probable transfer of power in Iraq, the oil-rich can do little more than trust in the will of Allah. President Saddam Hussein's cohorts in the ruling Baath Party are shrewd politicians who understand that, since its beginning, the war with Iran has been an intensely personal struggle between Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Saddam Hussein. And nothing short of Saddam Hussein's removal from power — certainly not ill-defined murmurs about Iraq's bringing in Egyptian troops — can now stop Ayatollah Khomeini's armies from marching on into Iraq.

The most likely outcome, at least in the short term, is that the military wing of the Baath Party will recover control from Saddam Hussein's "civilian" wing, and a military figure such as the former President, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, or Salih Mahdi Amash, now ambassador to Finland and former Deputy President, may emerge as head of state. This outcome would perhaps be the least destabilizing for the region.

Both the Syrians and the Iranians have been grooming Iraqi successors for the post-Hussein era, but old-timers in the Iraqi Baath Party will presumably seek to keep them at bay. The Gulf oil-rich, of course, also have a clear interest in seeing Iraq linked to neither Syria nor Iran.

Helena Cobban, who reported for The London Sunday Times from Iran, Iraq and the Gulf states from 1976 to 1981, is writing a book about the Palestinians.





## Steven Spielberg—Horror vs. Hope

"Poltergeist" is the darker side of my nature and "E.T." is my optimism about the future."

By MICHIKO KAKUTANI

As a child growing up in the 50's, Steven Spielberg knew, just knew, that another magical and somewhat terrifying world lay just beyond the placid surface of his family's suburban life. Even the tiny crack in his bedroom wall, illuminated by the hallway light, promised all sorts of awful marvels. "I remember lying there, trying to go to sleep," he says, "and I used to always imagine little Hieronymus Bosch-like creatures inside, peeking out and whispering to me to come into the playground of the crack and be drawn into the unknown there, inside the wall of my home in New Jersey."

To this day, Mr. Spielberg says he continues to be fascinated by "what I think is there but cannot see," and that capacity for wonder, combined with a prodigious imagination, has informed nearly all his films from "Jaws" to "Close Encounters of the Third Kind" to "Raiders of the Lost Ark."

In his latest pictures, Mr. Spielberg returns to the suburban milieu of his own childhood, but invests that world with two dramatic and highly disparate visions of the supernatural: "Poltergeist," which he produced and cowrote, is a darkly imagined horror movie, portraying a family threatened by the vengeful spirits of the dead; while "E.T.," the story of a 10-year old boy who befriends an extraterrestrial stranded on earth, is, in effect, a contemporary fairy tale, offering a vision of innocence and hope.

"Poltergeist" is what I fear and "E.T." is what I love," explains Mr. Spielberg. "One is about suburban evil and the other is about suburban good. I had different motivations in both instances: in 'Poltergeist,' I wanted to terrify and I also wanted to amuse—I tried to mix the laughs and screams together. 'Poltergeist' is the darker side of my nature—it's me when I was scaring my younger sisters half to death when we were growing up—and 'E.T.' is my optimism about the future and my optimism about what it was like to grow up in Arizona and New Jersey."

A romantic and an idealist when it comes to making movies, Mr. Spielberg is not so much interested in depicting life as it is, so much as life as it might be—heightened and idealized

**'I guess way down deep I don't want to look the world in the eye.'**

on the screen. Ghosts ("Poltergeist"), extraterrestrials ("E.T."), U.F.O.'s ("Close Encounters") and vengeful killer sharks ("Jaws") help animate his pictures, and in others, a single incident—a young outlaw couple's decision to retrieve their child in "The Sugarland Express," for instance, or the appearance of a Japanese submarine off the coast of California in "1941"—triggers an accelerating sequence of events, the sort of wonderfully improbable events that happen only in the movies.

"I have a real chemical imbalance between what's real and what's not," says Mr. Spielberg. "I tend to side with what isn't real in picking a subject, more than I do with what's really happening out there in the street—enough directors make movies that reflect life as we see it every day. There's no proof U.F.O.'s exist or that ghosts exist, but it's always nice to imagine what you think could be there, and the best movies I've ever seen are movies that are slightly above one's normal eye level—something you have to reach up to and suspend your disbelief."

Indeed, the sort of movies Mr. Spielberg likes to make have the same effect on audiences that the pictures he saw as a young boy had on his youthful imagination: they enthral and entertain and they "take people out of their seats to get them involved—through showmanship—in a kind of emotional dialogue" with the film. As a child, in

fact, Mr. Spielberg says he never dreamed of becoming a director; he dreamed of becoming "all those heroic people up there on the screen." And as far as he is concerned, making movies still provides a certain vicarious pleasure, a kind of celluloid substitute for all his Walter Mitty dreams.

"In the past," he says, "I've made movies about experiences that I've never had because that way I can explore all those 'what ifs.' You see, I'm all the characters in my movies. I was as much Indiana Jones as Harrison Ford was in 'Raiders,' and in 'E.T.," I was E.T.'s eyes. Through the movie, I had to imagine what it would be like to be a creature visiting earth and what life would be like from his perspective."

The real heroes in most of Mr. Spielberg's pictures, however, are not such anomalous characters as E.T., but people who represent his version of Hitchcock's innocent bystanders.

**'I tend to side with what isn't real in picking a subject for a movie.'**

They're "ordinary people," as Dr. Lacombe says in "Close Encounters," "under extraordinary circumstances"—people like the suburban families in "Close Encounters," "E.T." and "Poltergeist," who live in pleasant ranch houses filled with appliances and television sets and refrigerators stocked with beer and Cokes and potato salad.

"They're common, everyday types of people to whom nothing really happens until I come along," says Mr. Spielberg. "In the movies I've made, I've tried very, very hard to take the bystander, toughen him up, thereby robbing him of his innocence, in order to combat the forces that are against him. I love movies where there are opposing forces and they're stronger than the hero and the hero must succeed either by finding a way around or straight through."

In the case of "E.T.," Mr. Spielberg points out, the opposing force is not a tangible enemy like the shark in "Jaws," but the intrusion of the grown-up world. Whereas 10-year-old Elliott wants only to love and be loved by his extraterrestrial friend, this grown-up world, represented by corps of doctors and technicians, wants to preserve E.T. as a specimen of alien life. "I always thought of the adult world as being symbolized by tall people who cast giant shadows," says Mr. Spielberg, "people who don't think like kids, but think like professionals. That's dangerous—they might understand E.T. biologically and scientifically, but they'd never ever understand that he had a heart."

A similar message, of course, has long been a favorite theme in children's literature—from J.M. Barrie's "Peter Pan" to Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's "The Little Prince"—and "E.T." is filled with references to well-known books and films. During one scene, for instance, John Williams's score recalls the music used in "The Wizard of Oz" to accompany the Wicked Witch, Miss Gulch; and in the movie's penultimate scene, Elliott and his friends soar into the sky on their bicycles, in much the same way that Peter Pan and Wendy flew off to Never Never Land. Certainly Mr. Spielberg and the writer of the film, Melissa Mathison, were well aware of the genre they were working in—before starting, they screened such movies as "Night of the Hunter," "Bambi," "The Blue Bird" and "Our Mother's House"—but the film also grew out of preoccupations that have animated Mr. Spielberg's work from the beginning.

Most of his movies, after all, have featured children in important or emblematic roles. "Sugarland," "Close Encounters" and "Poltergeist," for instance, all involve the attempt of a mother to regain custody of her child. And in both "Close Encounters" and "E.T.," it is a child—and those adults who maintain a childlike innocence

and openness to the possibility of miracles—who is granted communion with these visitors from outer space and a vision of a more lovely world.

"I've always wanted to do something about kids because I'm still a kid," says Mr. Spielberg, who at 34 still radiates a boyish enthusiasm and ingenuous charm. "I'm still waiting to get out of my Peter Pan shoes and into my loafers. I think it's easier for me to have a complete conversation from Pac-Man to exobiology with an 11-year-old than it is to sit down with an adult and discuss Nietzsche and the Falklands. Why? I guess because I'm probably socially irresponsible and way down deep I don't want to look the world in the eye. Actually, I don't mind looking the world in the eye, as long as there's a movie camera between us."

That, of course, is exactly what Mr. Spielberg has been doing since he made his first home movie at the age of 12. The son of a computer specialist and a concert-pianist mother who were divorced when he was a teenager, Mr. Spielberg says he was an awkward child—"the weird, skinny kid with the acne"—who didn't have a lot of friends. His parents moved several times, from Ohio to New Jersey to Arizona to California, uprooting Steven and his three younger sisters, and leaving him with a lasting sense of dislocation.

Movies, the young boy discovered, opened up a new world of possibilities—an exciting world wonderfully different from the suburbs his parents always lived in—and he soon learned that he could express himself more easily with a movie camera than by talking in school or writing papers or having grown-up conversations with his parents. "Movies took the place of crayons and charcoal," he says, "and I was able to represent my life at 24 frames a second." At 12, he filmed a collision between his Lionel train sets. At 13, he earned a Boy Scout merit badge by making a three-minute eight-millimeter film that featured one of his friends robbing a stagecoach and counting the money. And at 16, he made "Firelight," a two-and-a-half-hour science fiction movie that anticipated "Close Encounters."

And when the young Mr. Spielberg was not making movies, he was watching them or watching such television shows as "The Honeymooners," "Captain Midnight" and "Sky King." Such Disney films as "Bambi," "Fantasia" and "Snow White" imparted a moralistic sense of good and evil, as well as a well-developed sense of terror, and he says he also learned important lessons about characterization and story-telling from Frank Capra movies like "A Pocketful of Miracles," "Meet John Doe" and "It's a Wonderful Life."

While enrolled at California State College in Long Beach, Mr. Spielberg spent most of his free time sneaking onto the Universal lot and making his own 16-millimeter films. In 1969, having gotten little response to his work, he decided to shoot something that would prove to industry executives that he "could move a camera and compose nicely and deal with lighting and performances." The result was "Amblin," a 24-minute short about a pair of hitchhikers, which won awards at both the Venice and Atlanta film festivals.

The movie, he later recalled, represented "an attack of crass commercialism." "When I look back at the film," he said once, "I can easily say, 'No wonder I didn't go to Kent State' or 'No wonder I didn't go to Vietnam' or I wasn't protesting when all my friends were carrying signs and getting clubbed in Century City.' I was off making movies, and 'Amblin' is the slick byproduct of a kid immersed up to his nose in film."

Still, "Amblin" fulfilled its young director's purpose—it won him a contract with Universal, and Mr. Spielberg was soon directing television episodes of "Night Gallery," "Marcus Welby" and "Columbo." "Duel," a television movie about a motorist pursued by a malevolent phantom truck, won him critical acclaim, and at 25, Mr. Spielberg was directing his first feature film, "The Sugarland Express."

As critics duly noted, craft and technique came easily to Mr. Spielberg: he had an instinctive ability to manipulate suspense and expectation, and a rare sense of graphic dynamics that enabled him to tell a story through

striking visual images and well-timed cuts. If choreographing large-scale effects came easily, however, Mr. Spielberg says he found characterization and the examination of personal relationships more problematic. "The hard thing for me," he says of his earlier films, "was answering questions like 'Who is this person?' 'Why do we like this guy?' 'Why should we spend two hours watching these people?' So I always used to make the story or the event almost as important as the characters."

Up until "E.T.," in fact, Mr. Spielberg's films have been very much the work of someone who has felt more comfortable employing a sophisticated cinematic vocabulary than exposing deeply personal concerns. Created by a director who has spent hundreds of hours watching movies and discussing them with friends—Mr. Spielberg belongs to that closely-knit community of young filmmakers including Francis Coppola, George Lucas and John Milius—his pictures are not only technically innovative but also replete with allusions to other movies. "Jaws," for instance, recalls old science fiction pictures; "Close Encounters" makes references to works by Disney and Hitchcock; and "Raiders" pays homage to, even as it reinvents, the old Saturday matinee serials.

He never believed in anything, Mr. Spielberg once said, until he discovered film, and it is only recently that exposure to friends outside the business—including his girlfriend, Kathleen Carey, who works in music publishing—has made him realize that all those hours spent in dark theaters as a kid left certain "emotional and intellectual gaps."

"I'm still filling them in," he says now. "But you just can't pick up 20 years of lost weekends. Movies are my life, but I see now that for some people movies are only a twice a year experience and that in the rest of their lives, there are great decisions to be made: when to have children, where to send them to school, are they growing up O.K., and how to make enough money to provide for everyone. It's sort of made me realize that there's more to life than making movies—though it's still easier to say than to demonstrate."

While Mr. Spielberg notes that he has recently given more attention to his private life than ever before, he remains "a workaholic," incapable of

taking a vacation for more than a couple days. In addition to helping out young, aspiring filmmakers by serving as executive producer on their pictures—he was executive producer of such films as "Used Cars," "Continental Divide" and "I Want to Hold Your Hand"—he has several projects of his own lined up. He is currently co-writing a backstage Hollywood musical called "Reel to Reel," and plans to direct the sequel to "Raiders" next

self to be hurt. I'd never really allowed anything to reach me before—I was always over-rationalizing just in order not to deal with it—and I think that now that I'm starting to deal with Kathleen, I'm able to turn around and be a little more open through movies about how I feel."

"E.T.," he goes on, "really expresses how I feel this year about a lot of things. Five years ago, I think I



E.T., the Spielberg extraterrestrial

summer. This fall, if all goes well, he will also direct "Always," a reworking of the old 1943 film "A Guy Named Joe," which he describes as "a love story with a slightly other worldly twist."

For Mr. Spielberg, that project, like "E.T.," reflects his new determination to make films more concerned with characters and their personal lives, and it also reflects a new openness, on his own part, toward emotions. "I think I've opened up more in the last three or four years than I had ever before," he says. "I allowed my-

would probably have been too embarrassed about what people might think of me to make 'E.T.' or even respond to an idea like this. I had to essentially get over my fear of running through the world naked and say, 'take me or leave me.' I guess my priorities have shifted over the last half a decade, and in a nice way I think it's come back around through my films. That's what I mean about running around naked for the first time—I'm saying I'm going to deal with people, with what makes them happy and what makes them cry."



## Bridge the Gap

New York-Los Angeles  
Chicago-Philadelphia  
Miami-Boston-Toronto  
Montreal-London  
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FIFTEEN YEARS after the reunification of Jerusalem, flags were flying. Open-air concerts were held and youth groups danced in the streets. Perhaps the most festive and meaningful mark of the occasion was provided by the tens of thousands of roses flowering along the capital's main streets and in public gardens. More than 80,000 had been planted, watered, fed and cultivated, and they were in their full splendour on Jerusalem Day, an achievement for which the municipal gardeners deserve gratitude and congratulations.

Earlier this year, it was a joy during Purim and Pesach to see how all of Jerusalem was decorated by 100,000 bulb flowers, Dutch tulips, hyacinths and daffodils.

But more than for the planting and care of the bulbs and the roses, the municipal gardeners should be thanked for the profound understanding they have demonstrated in not removing what Nature had planted by chance, some of the most beautiful Israeli wild flowers.

A walk or drive from Wingate Circle in Talbieh down to the windmill area offers the sight of a multitude of flowering hollyhocks, some low-growing, others climbing higher than two metres. These wild perennials fit well into the street landscape, blooming in white, pink, red and purple.

I can't close this subject without mentioning what happened to me the eve of Jerusalem day, while I was having coffee in the shopping centre in Kiryat Hayovel. A pair of scouts, neatly dressed in uniform, came into the small restaurant and asked me to sign a petition, which read (in free translation): "I hereby promise not to throw litter into the streets, nor to remove flowers or branches from public gardens." Everyone who signed this declaration received a small bouquet of scented carnations.

BEAUTIFUL weather should mean beautiful gardens. Here are some hints on what to plant and care for things already planted.

**Flower garden.** Set out dwarf dahlias and other bedding plants like tagetes, ageratum, salvia, zinnia and aster for quick colour. All these plants are available now in small cups at nurseries and garden centres.

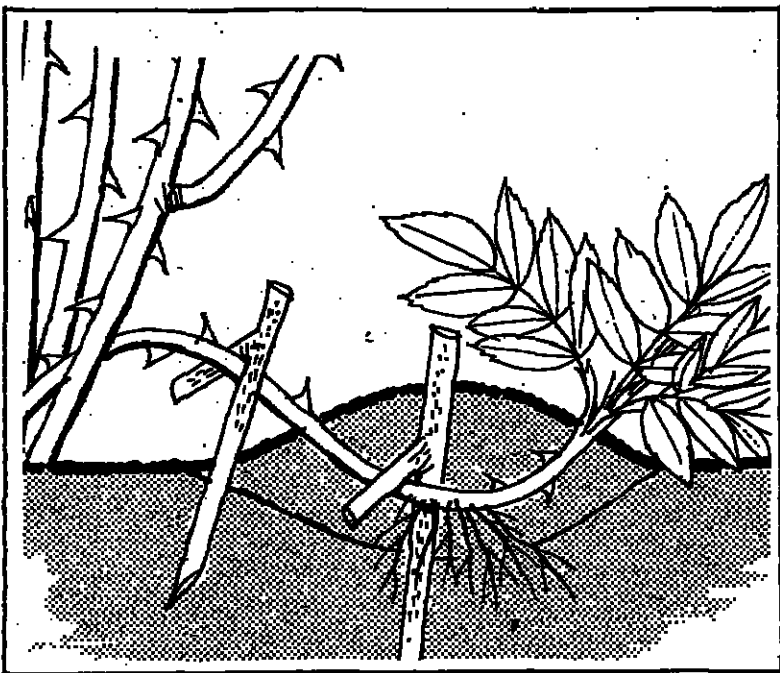
Fill out holes in the garden picture with container-grown shrubs. If you don't already have such plants, you can easily and cheaply prepare them yourself. Use roses, dahlias, cannas, rosemary, lavender, myrtle or even tomato, egg plant or pepper plants. These, or whatever you choose, can go into tins, large clay pots or other containers and thus provide a moveable garden.

**JERUSALEM SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA.** Dahlia Atlas conducting; with Netanel Dvora, soprano (Batei Mahan, Jewish Quarter, Old City of Jerusalem, May 26) Verli: "La forza del destino" Overture; Two Songs from Lavry: "Song of Songs"; Rapoport: "On Mt. Sion" (arranged by Arye Levana); Dvorkin: Symphony No. 8.

THIS OPEN-AIR concert, making the 15th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem, was well organized, except for the weather (are our meteorologists still having

## Jerusalem of flowers

GARDENER'S CORNER/Walter Frankl



When the roses are in bloom, or the dahlias or other shrubs show their colours, place them where they will show themselves to advantage. For example, your potted shrubs may be strategically placed so as to be a background to a bed of low-growing flowers. Tomatoes and other nightshade vegetables can be a lovely summer decoration.

Plant carnations and chrysanthemums now for late summer and autumn blooming. Feed fuchsias growing in pots and tubs. Check for pests, especially white fly. Spray with Roxigan or malathion.

Disbud roses and dahlias to ensure larger flowers and longer stems. Feed regularly — twice a month with any general fertilizer.

Dust dahlias with heptachlor powder when holes appear in their foliage. Divide overcrowded gerberas and similar perennials. This is best done in late afternoon. Water immediately after dividing and replanting.

Prune lilacs and other spring-flowering shrubs as soon as their flowers are past.

Cut away all faded flowers from small carobrotums (mesembryanthemum) for better sprouting.

Get after weeds and slugs. Preventing them from getting a

good start in the garden saves a great deal of effort later. Lift flower pots and other outside containers on the ground from time to time and collect all slugs, which normally rest during daylight. Spread metazon or other slug and snail poison on paths and between plants where you detect silvery traces in the morning.

**Summer-flowering bulbs.** There is still time to buy corms (tubers) of gladioli, tuberous begonia and glloxinia for flower pots or balcony boxes. You can also sow sunflower seeds (helianthus) cosmos, celosia, amaranthus and tagetes.

The many varieties of geranium (pelargonium), which come in a variety of colours may be propagated by cuttings year round. Mix some sand or vermiculite into ordinary garden soil, and don't forget to water geranium cuttings 2-3 times a week.

**More nice roses — the cheap way.** This column has described the technique of layering for carnations, camellias and azaleas. It can work with roses, too. This is a remarkable means of propagating whatever rose you favour in your garden. For instance, suppose you are partial to a Queen Elizabeth, and you want another bush. Bend a branch of the one you have down to the ground and fix it in place (see drawing) with one or two branch-

hooks. Partly cover this branch with a heap of loose soil and water it regularly. After 3-4 months, the branch will have become rooted, and may be separated from the mother plant. Voilà, you possess another Queen Elizabeth, ready to grow independently.

**Sow a garden fence.** While most hedge plants are propagated either in early spring or in autumn, there is one that may be sown just now into seed boxes and later transplanted in the usual way, from seed box to flower pot or small tin and from there to the garden. And you will be able to enjoy your hedge next spring.

This plant is *Dodonaea viscosa*, or *dodonaea v'vika* in Hebrew. Native to Australia, South Africa, North America and Mexico, it has been grown as a garden fence in this country for more than 50 years. *Dodonaea* is a quick-growing and high-growing plant, which can be easily shaped into whatever form you want. I know of a garden in Ramat Hasharon where a *dodonaea* hedge, during three years of growth, reached a height of 4 metres or so, providing absolute privacy for the owner of the garden. A tall, thick *dodonaea* fence also grows around the swimming pool of Moshav Shorash near Jerusalem.

*Dodonaea* grows in every kind of soil. It flowers in February with small, pinkish-white, insignificant blooms.

The time has come to dig up spring bulbs, especially tulips. The empty spots may be replanted with annuals, but first rake a thin layer of compost mixed with bone-meal into the soil.

Remove all faded flowers from snapdragons, calendulas, pansies and other flowering plants to obtain more flowers.

Cloudless days and the calendar, indicating long, dry months ahead, should remind you to mulch roses, dahlias, cannas and other garden perennials. To much azaleas, camellias, orchids and other acidity-loving plants, use a few handfuls of peat moss (sphagnum) or kabul in Hebrew.

As glloxinia leaves expand in size, increase the amount of water they get but do so without wetting the glloxinia foliage. Feed regularly with a balanced soluble fertilizer. Use 1 teaspoon of guano to one litre of water. The flowering of glloxinia may be prolonged by maintaining good light (no direct sun!) and constant moisture.

As soon as that big burst of flowering is over, clean up the rock garden and remove weeds. Divide overgrown plants. Add some new ones, but only seedlings offered in small cups. Replace gravel mulch as needed and scatter slug bait.

**Concerto Grosso in B-flat Major; Haydn: Concerto in C Major for cello and orchestra; Haydn: Ode for four winds and strings; Haydn: Symphony No. 77 in B-flat Major.**

IN A LAST-MINUTE change of soloists, Stephen Isserlis replaced Robert Cohen in the performance of Haydn cello concerto. This early composition turned up in the Prague National Library only in 1961, and certainly is not central to the composer's output. Cellist Stephen Isserlis of the U.S. capably rendered the rather unrewarding solo part with a charming naïveté and increasing sureness in the second and third movements. The richer orchestral part was well played by the English Chamber Orchestra, whose performance here was made possible by the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and the British Council.

Raymond Leppard and the English Chamber Orchestra began the evening with a tranquil reading of the Handel. The style of performance was authentic and created an atmosphere of noble felicity. The conductor played the harpsichord part. The ending hornpipe was somewhat too slow for its joyful and vigorous character.

English composer Robin Holway (b.1943) wrote his serene-like work ode for tenor Peter Pears' 70th birthday in June 1980. The short, melodious composition is full of changing moods and was inspired by the *Sick Rose* of Britten and Blake. The presentation provided pleasant listening and was a welcomed element in this mostly conservative programme. Raymond Leppard conducted with clear directives, ease and simplicity, and the ECO concluded the evening with an enjoyable, gay rendition of the Haydn symphony.

**YOHANAN BOEHM**  
ENGLISH CHAMBER ORCHESTRA, Raymond Leppard, conducting with Stephen Isserlis, cello (Klaila Auditorium, May 28). Handel:

**ESTHER REUTER**

## Whipping the wind

MUSIC

sanctions?). A cold wind blew through the Jewish Quarter, keeping several orchestra members working at holding on to their sheet

music, while the audience clutched at coats, pullovers or whatever cover they had.

Obviously, this negatively affected the tuning of instruments (strings, woodwind and brass all react differently to climate) and acoustical balance. The more it must be appreciated then that everybody tried valiantly to do his best, and one could imagine how well it might have been if a hamsin had guaranteed a wind-less, still air.

It was a sentimental occasion and as such highly successful. Azaria Rapoport in a sonorous bass, announced programme details and even recited a short story by Shai Agnon on the venue. A brass ensemble presented a fanfare commissioned for this event by the Jerusalem Foundation. This fanfare, the work of Haim Alexander, was a nice mixture of Baroque and Jewish elements. Dahlia Atlas conducted without allowing anything to deflect her from her task and achieved satisfactory readings under the circumstances. Netania Davrat contributed the programme's Hebrew element and impressed with her still rich and mighty voice (though she sometimes was slightly off-pitch).

In the Dvorak Symphony, Dahlia Atlas succeeded in conveying all the beauty of this music and maintained mood right to the end.

**YOHANAN BOEHM**  
ENGLISH CHAMBER ORCHESTRA, Raymond Leppard, conducting with Stephen Isserlis, cello (Klaila Auditorium, May 28). Handel:

What?  
Maccabee Beer in a can?

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## DAVID BEN-GURION

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INAUGURATION OF THE  
MAURICE AND GABRIELA  
GOLDSCHLEGER  
RESEARCH FUND

Lecture:

PROF. MICHAEL BELKIN

Director, Research Department Maurice and Gabriela Goldschleger Eye Institute

"Prevention and Treatment of War Eye Injuries"

The Research Performed in the Maurice and Gabriela Goldschleger Eye Institute Based on Lessons of the Yom Kippur War.

Tuesday, June 1, 1982 at 3.00 p.m.

Auditorium 01, The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies, Tel Aviv University Campus, Ramat Aviv

The public is invited — Entrance through Gate No. 1.

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A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

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## SINIGAGLIA

That's the name of the beautiful new glassware and gift store in the centre of town. They pride themselves on a wide selection of Bavarian porcelain, 41 piece dinner services, tea and coffee sets, vases; crystal from Silesia, delightful decorated glass from Italy, decanters, hors d'oeuvre dishes, decorated stainless steel trays, wine glasses and dozens of other special gift items. Looking for something different? Drop in at SINIGAGLIA, 9 REHOV SHAMAI, Tel. 02-226886. You won't be disappointed. Open 9-1, 4-7, Friday 9-1.

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### CRYPTIC PUZZLE

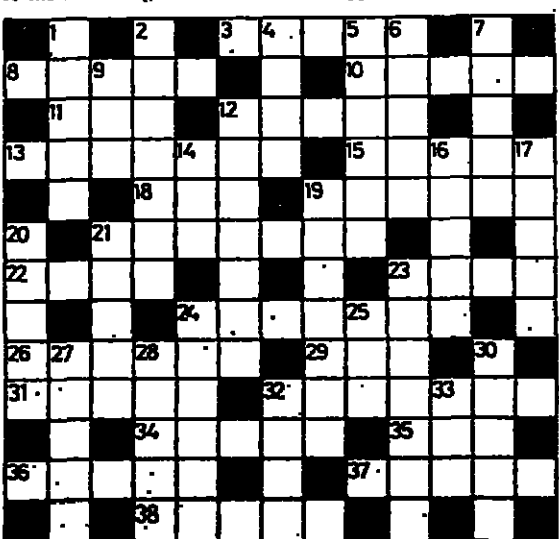
Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.

### ACROSS

- Western mail sorter, this girl? (5)
- John upsets Noel when he loses heart (5)
- One person's course (5)
- He gives one a bit of a clout (3)
- Times in the pub? (5)
- Is it so cheap as to preclude profit? (7)
- Reason for the bird cries we hear (5)
- Cover with figures (3)
- A hot time? (6)
- People setting a broken pattern (7)
- Beefy utterances? (4)
- You can see a lot sown (4)
- Comparatively Heep-like (7)
- The Elbow game (6)
- But not enough to get you blotto! (3)
- Go in and put down (5)
- As playthings, a girl has the best (3-4)
- He joins Joe and Les (5)
- It gets a racing driver nowhere! (3)
- Discover Len is out (5)
- Put off a detective by some error (5)
- Looked for gold, possibly, out East (5)

### DOWN

- A £50 one, nominally (5)
- Man, or part of that isle (7)
- A hard, strong, and upright fellow (4)
- Rose to be a Rugby star (6)
- A big tea place (5)
- Martin's place? (5)
- Hill by the quay? (3)
- Conceal part of the house that's ugly (7)
- Vent one's views over



- the ether? (3)
- It may be burnt or raw (5)
- Damage the means by which a letter was carried? (5)
- Where the horses can hunt a chap? (7)
- It's me making a hit (5)
- Indicate the place to field (5)
- Stopped the argument and paid up (7)
- Taking on a high-sounding resonance (6)
- Polo ground record (3)
- Did the ultimate thing (5)
- Mother Nature gave him a dark look (5)
- As superior as some have the crust to be (5)
- Sounds a mountain dog (4)
- One wild one? (3)

### Yesterday's Cryptic Solution

ACROSS. — 4. Defile. 7. Playtime. 8. Nation. 10. Seedy. 13. File. 14. Hare. 15. Lamb. 16. Day. 17. Nail. 19. U-rah. 21. Little man. 23. So-so. 24. Corp. 26. Jaw. 27. L-out. 29. Item (rev.). 32. Clay. 33. Dr-one. 34. M-or-ass. 35. Iron duke. 36. Vestas.

DOWN. — 1. Apish. 2. Facer. 3. Stay. 4. Dealin (rev.). 5. Fate. 6. Loofah. 9. Albums. 11. Ear. 12. Den-13. Fall Guy. 15. Lit. 16. Dan. 18. Atolls. 20. Tapir. 21. Low. 22. Eat. 23. Sal-O-me. 25. Ten. 28. Oasis. 30. Tot up. 31. Meter. 32. Cart. 33. Done.

### Yesterday's Easy Solution

ACROSS. — 4. Stands. 7. Overheat. 8. Arrest. 10. Press. 13. Prey. 14. Seep. 15. Peep. 16. Are. 17. Omen. 19. Eire. 21. Guardians. 23. Gets. 24. Arts. 26. Ham. 27. Tone. 29. Even. 32. Pert. 33. Stule. 34. Aboard. 35. Enslaved. 36. Lesser.

DOWN. — 1. Rumps. 2. Teepee. 3. Thus. 4. State. 5. Airy. 6. Desire. 9. Repeat. 11. Red. 12. Spout. 13. Pendant. 15. Per. 16. Ars. 18. Master. 20. Inset. 21. Gem. 22. Ire. 23. Gumble. 25. Gel. 28. Order. 30. Valve. 31. Needy. 32. Pass. 33. Silo.

### EASY PUZZLE

- Supreme happiness (5)
- Large house (5)
- Copying (5)
- Set (3)
- Dance to records (5)
- Diversion (7)
- Rubber pipes (5)
- Crooked (3)
- Guard (6)
- Signalling flag (7)
- Flock (4)
- Photograph quickly (4)
- Greatly surprise (7)
- Chops up finely (6)
- Greek letter (3)
- Go in (5)
- Eyes, slang (7)
- After a while (5)
- For each (3)
- Traded (5)
- Under (5)
- Chairs (5)

### DOWN

- Large Cat (5)
- Permitted (7)
- Girl's name (4)
- Small packet (6)
- Cutlery item (5)
- Target ring (5)
- Allow (3)
- Lack of moisture (7)
- Large vase (3)
- Be on one's feet (5)
- Slender girl (5)
- Prying person (7)
- Disgrace (5)
- Write in capitals (5)
- Cutting (7)
- Make gassy (6)
- Application (3)
- List of contents (5)
- Prison chambers (5)
- Mistake (5)
- Saucy (4)
- Fish (3)

Solutions to today's puzzle tomorrow

## Money Matters

### One in seven sick leaves taken on shaky grounds

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

HAIFA. — In Israel 4.3 per cent of working days are lost to absenteeism due to medical reasons, while accidents account for another 0.8 per cent, according to a study published yesterday by the Labour Ministry. These figures compare quite favourably with levels of absenteeism for medical reasons in Western countries, the author of the study, Dr. Alexander Shefer, told the press here.

The study, covering the years 1973 to 1977, was carried out in seven factories in various parts of the country and covered 4,703 blue collar and office workers.

Dr. Shefer said that sickness certificates had been closely studied and that about 85 per cent were found "justified." The rest were faulted on the grounds of doubtful diagnosis, exaggerated time off granted, and retroactivity, which made them clearly fictitious. While there were cases in which physicians gave in to pressure and granted unjustified certificates, there were also cases of workers going back to work before the time off

the doctors had granted them.

The highest rate of absenteeism was found in the 45 to 60 age group, followed by the 15 to 20 age group. There was no appreciable difference in the rates between the sexes.

The study, which was carried out together with Moshe Bar-Net, of Haifa University, showed that pay incentives for a good attendance record failed to reduce absenteeism. In some cases it even led to increases, "because the bonus soon became part of the regular pay."

Respiratory diseases accounted for the highest proportion of absenteeism (26.2 per cent), followed by muscle and bone diseases (17.7 per cent) and digestive upsets (7.6 per cent).

The researchers recommended that factories provide organized transport for their workers, since many accidents occurred on the way to and from work. They also called for the establishment of a national commission on the problems of absenteeism — which the Labour Ministry has just done.

### Work accidents claimed 900 lives in 3 years

By LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Over nine hundred workers have lost their lives, and ten thousand others have become permanently disabled, as a result of work accidents over the past three years, Labour Minister Aharon Uzan said last week. He was speaking at the Josephthal Prize awards ceremony here.

The oil refinery in Ashdod received the "Minister's Shield," the highest award, and 25 other organizations from industry and ser-

vices (including the Ashkelon prison, a Jerusalem hotel, garages and electronics firms) received prizes for improving and maintaining safety in work places.

The minister said work accidents are fewer now than they were in 1979, but that more still needs to be done. He mentioned the amendments to the Work Safety Organization Law recently passed by the Knesset, which raised fines for safety infractions and set more rigid safety standards as an important step in the right direction.

### Kibbutz research pays off after 8 years

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Eight years of research and development paid off last week for the Kibbutz Industries, which made the first sale abroad of a plant that converts cow manure into methane gas, animal feed and fertilizer.

The plant, the first model of which was installed at Kibbutz Kfar Giladi, was sold to an Italian agricultural equipment firm for \$330,000. The development of the plant, called the Nefah project, cost about \$2 million, 80 per cent of which was provided by Energy Ministry grants for the development of alternative energy sources.

Ministry scientists said that the plant is the "most efficient of its kind in the world," and provided solutions to both energy and ecological problems.

The cow manure is fed into a vat,

where it is blended and heated in an "anaerobic digestive process," which causes the organic matter to break down. The process produces methane gas and a slurry rich in proteins and vitamins but low in disease-causing bacteria. The slurry can be used as a food supplement for fish and cattle, and can be further broken down into a peat substitute used for fertilizer.

The Chinese have been using this system for thousands of years, and are still doing so today in a slow, labour-intensive way.

The second kibbutz to buy a plant was Zikim, which did so last year. The Nefah project director Dr. Uri Marhaiim said that negotiations to sell more plants are now in progress with firms in France, the U.S. and Mexico. The plant sold to Italy produces 800 cubic metres of methane and one ton of slurry a day.

### 'More Hebrew' is first order of new director

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Labour and Social Affairs Ministry yesterday ordered to restore the hour of Hebrew lessons cut from the curriculum of industrial schools for budgetary reasons.

This was the first administrative directive issued by the new acting director-general, Asher Ohayon,

who took up his post about 10 days ago.

The hour of Hebrew, one of three hours devoted to this subject in the pupils' 45-hour week, was cut recently to save IS14 million a year. Ohayon ordered that the sum be cut from other activities in the schools, which provide practical vocational training to teenagers.

### 'Breakthrough' as San Francisco buys Pulcinella

## Israel TV sells first show to U.S. station

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel TV has sold its first full-length programme to an American station, according to TV's director of international relations and sales, Zvi Gill, who calls the deal a "breakthrough" for the Broadcasting Authority.

A public TV station in San Francisco, KQED, has purchased a copy of the Israel TV show *Pulcinella*, a ballet produced here in honour of the centenary of the birth of Igor Stravinsky. Until that sale, only bits of programmes, mostly news items, had been bought by American stations.

Gill told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that this first commercial deal will probably not be very profitable, since TV House must convert the ballet film to the American standard one-inch film. "But it's important, in order to let American TV know that we exist."

Mike Jaffe, the Broadcasting Authority's representative in Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, has also aroused interest in *Pulcinella* among stations in Miami, San Diego, Tucson and Peoria.

While American cable TV and educational TV are "good potential markets" for Israeli-made programmes, selling to commercial stations or networks there is a "mission impossible," says Gill, because they aren't interested in imported, foreign-language shows.

Europe, Australia and New Zealand are other potential markets. Finland's state-owned TV station has ordered *Israel and Egypt*, Handel's oratorio that was filmed recently on the bank of the Red Sea. Gill returned recently from the MIP-TV international TV programme fair in Cannes, and was pleased by "wide interest" in Israeli programmes.

The Foreign Ministry is providing Israel TV with financial assistance in promoting the films. "We don't intend them as propaganda, but if they help improve Israel's cultural image, we're happy," says Gill. The Jewish Agency, however, has rejected all proposals for assisting in the foreign sales of Israel TV programmes, he adds.

Despite the *Pulcinella* sale, Israel TV has so far not got anywhere in promoting its monumental documentary on Zionism, *Pillar of Fire*, which was completed almost two years ago with much fanfare. The authority failed to sell the rights to large commercial interests here, and only now has decided to translate a few of the cassettes into English.

A major problem in Gill's job is finding enough international-quality programmes being produced by Israel TV. The number of such original shows has steadily decreased due to budgetary problems in the authority.

### Less frequent checking of tax returns

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

Due to a shortage of staff the income tax authorities will not be able to scrutinize all tax returns once every four years, as had been planned in 1978. Instead, such a thorough check will be carried out only once every seven-and-a-half years, Income Tax Commissioner Dov Neiger told the press here yesterday.

During 1981 the tax authorities collected IS66,500 million, compared to IS29,968m. in 1980. After adjustment for inflation, this means that total tax revenue increased by 5.6 per cent.

The revenue figure is lower than an earlier estimate made by the Income Tax Commission, but Neiger stressed that this estimate was made as late as last December and did not leave the authorities enough time to live up to it. The commissioner denied that wage earners are relatively paying more taxes than

companies and the self-employed, or that during last year their payments increased more rapidly. The share of wage earners in total tax revenue was 37.7 per cent, compared to 36.6 in 1980.

Regarding the sample of assessment files which are examined in depth every year, Neiger said that the conception behind this procedure is not to collect more taxes, but to catch tax evaders. Charges were laid against 61 of the 4,139 files included in the sample, he said.

By the end of this week companies and the self-employed will receive this year's income tax forms. But only those who do not have financing costs or who do not ask for deductions due to inflation will be required to file the forms. Only after the Knesset Finance Committee has approved the new legislation submitted by the Treasury, will the rest of taxpayers be required to file their returns.

### Agents sceptical about inland tourism

By HAIM SHAPIRO

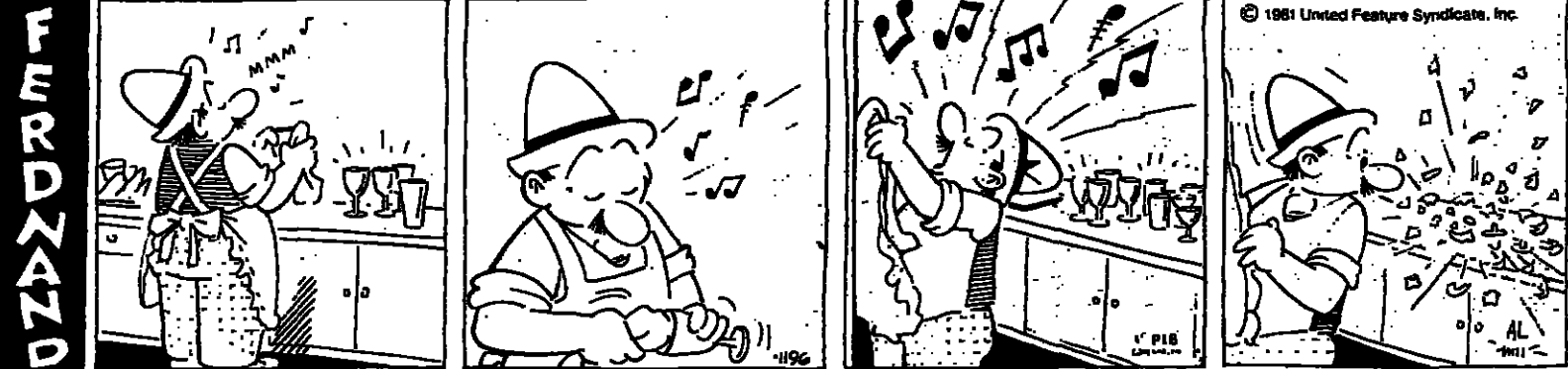
Jerusalem Post Reporter

If Israelis don't take their holidays in their own country, it's because local prices are too high, a spokesman for the local travel agents said recently. He was reacting to a proposed Tourism Ministry ruling, which would require all travel agents to hire a special person to deal with inland

tourism. Unless prices here are competitive, it will just mean that workers will be sitting around with nothing to do, he said.

Despite their opposition, the agents said, however, that they would comply with the ministry ruling.

The Tourism Ministry had earlier announced that its ruling had met with the approval of the agents.



### WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at IS66.10 per line including VAT; insertion every day costs IS126.60 including VAT, per month. Copy accepted at offices of The Jerusalem Post and all recognized advertising agents.

#### Jerusalem Museums

Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Permanent Collection of Jewish Art and Archaeology: A Glimpse into the Past. Temporary Collection: Objects from the ancient Near East; Reality/Illusion, children's exhibition dealing with visual illusions in culture and art; Metaphors and Allegories, Superstition/Firenze: Art for Human's Sake; Humanism in contemporary art; Old Gods and Young Heroes, collection of Maya ceramics; Toys and Games of the Ancient World (Rockefeller); Colour (Paley Centre, next to Rockefeller); Special Exhibit: Adornment of a Jewish Bride (tradition of Hensh, Afghanistan); Special Exhibit: Gifts to Eliahu Dolkhin Ancient Glass Pavilion; Special Exhibit: Throne Legs Cast in Bronze, from Samaria 6th-4th cen. BCE; Special Exhibit: New Shekel Coin and Ancient Jewish Prototype; Special Exhibit: Ezra Orion: Sculpture in the Himalayas, photographic documentation; Special Exhibit: Israel Museum Awards 1982. Statements in Colour. Contemporary Photography: Jewish Treasures from Paris, Collection of Cluny Museum and Consistoire. Opening Exhibition (1.6): On the surface, approaches to paint and canvas in contemporary art; Special Exhibit: Islamic Armour (Rockefeller); Special Exhibit: In Memory of Baruch Alia de Rodachild, selection of jewelry.

Visiting Hours: Meim Museum, 10-5. At 11: Guided tour in English. 3.30. "The Circus," film. 8.30. Concert, Paul Tortelier, cello; Jean-Pascal Tortelier, violin.

#### CONDUCTED TOURS

HADASSAH — Guided tour of all installations \* Hourly tours of Chagall Windows at Kirya Hadassah. Nominal charge. \* Hourly tours at Hadassah Mt. Scopus. \* Information, reservations: 02-416333, 02-426271.

Hebrew University: 1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building, Givat Ram Campus. 2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Broomman Reception Centre, Sherman Building, Buses 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 02-682819.

#### Emek — World Rel. Zionist Women, 26 Ben Maimon, Visk our projects: Call 02-662468, 630620, 02-788942, 708440.

Americas Mizrahi Women. Free Morning tours — 8 Alhadi Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 699222.

WALKING TOURS (3-4 hours) in English. "Jerusalem Through the Ages", Sunday to Wednesday, 9.30 a.m.; also Sunday and Thursday, 2 p.m. Leaves from Jaffa Gate (Chapel courtyard). Tickets on the spot.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Plant a Tree with Your Own Hands! For details and/or tour reservations, call Jewish National Fund, 02-633261, ext. 13.

#### Tel Aviv Museums

Tel Aviv Museum. Exhibitions: Jubilee Exhibitions (1932-1982). The Twenties in Israeli Art; Masters of Modern Art; City of Art, the Berlin Collection at the Turn of the Century; Dzenoff House, the early years of Tel Aviv Museum. Visiting Hours: Sat. 10-2. Sun-Thur. 10-10. Fri. closed. Thur. (7.5) 10-2. Helene Rolobinsky Pavilion: Sun-Thur. 9-1; 5-8. Sat. 10-2. Fri. Closed.

CONDUCTED TOURS American Mizrahi Women. Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv, Tel. 220187, 243106.

WIZO: To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 232939; Jerusalem, 2260601; Haifa, 89537.

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#### Haifa

What's On in Haifa, dial 04-640648.

The Weizmann Institute. Open to public from 8.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. Visitors invited to see audio-visual programme on institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11.00 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Friday (11.00 a.m. only). Tours of the Weizmann House every half hour from 10.00 to 3.30 p.m., Sunday to Thursday. Nominal fee for admission to Weizmann House. No visit on Saturdays and holidays.

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Jerusalem: Bikur Holim (pediatrics, E.N.T.), Hadassah E.K. (internal, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology), Migav Ladach (obstetrics), Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery). Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology). Migav Ladach: Open line 4-6 p.m. every Monday answer to obstetrics, gynecological, sterility and family planning problems. Tel. 02-633356.

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"Eran" — Mental Health First Aid. Tel. Jerusalem 669911. Tel Aviv 253311. Haifa 538-888, BeerSheva 32111, Netanya 35316.

Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call 02-234819, Tel Aviv, 04-58791, Haifa, 02-41010, Jerusalem.

Give Soldiers Lifts



## InterPharm has loss in first quarter

NEW YORK. — InterPharm Laboratories at the annual meeting announced its results for the first quarter, ended March 31, 1982. Sales were \$383,997, resulting in a net loss of \$179,093, or \$0.04 per share. This compares with sales of \$126,904, and a net loss of \$202,856, or \$0.05 per share, for the corresponding period of the 1981 fiscal year, when production had just begun.

Israel Makov, president of InterPharm, stated that a number of elements contributed to these results. Sales of Interferon and human growth hormone continued at a slightly decreased level, compared to the fourth quarter of 1981. Initial sales of the Lidex device were approximately \$43,000 for the quarter.

InterPharm Laboratories and its subsidiaries are engaged in research, development, and production of biological and diagnostic products for the health care industry.

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## Sanctions don't affect shares

Trading statistics continued to make good reading as The General Share Index advanced by more than one per cent. Ten issues were "buyers only," while 46 others advanced by more than 5%.

The shares of Goldfront debuted in a highly successful manner. The 1.0 stock stood at 300 in the wake of a "buyers only" situation, while the

more than one per cent. The Danot shares were firm, with gains of 4 and 5.1%.

Securities was 12% ahead in a moderately rising insurance group. Aridan shares were ahead by more than 10%, and ICP also rose by a full 10% in a rising land development and real estate group. There were some solid gains

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

5.0 shares were up by 87% to 280. Among commercial banks Maritime 0.1 and Israel General continued to gain by margins of

among industrials. The Argaman 0 ordinary shares and Ata C were 10% gainers. Arad rose by 9%, Rim 0.1 came through with a 13.5% jump, while Shemen advanced by 10%.

The announcement of Jordan Exploration's purchase of the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel spelled good news for shareholders. The ordinary shares were 4.2% higher. The option 1 gained 9.3% while the option 2 was "buyers only." Piryon was ahead by nearly 3% on good demand.

### Commercial Banks & Bankholding

	Closing price	Volume	Change	Change %
IDB prf	24650	1.0	+50	+2.1
IDB r	2113	1,815.5	+4	+2.2
IDB B r	2113	2.6	+4	+2.2
IDB prf A	6460	4.8	+20	+3.1
IDB B prf	5200	15.5	+30	+5.8
IDB prf 7	3345	84.5	+50	+1.6
IDB prf 10	3100	7.7	n.c.	n.c.
Union r	1201	301.6	+10	+7.7
Union prf 3 r	2285	5	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 7 r	1915	28.2	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10	1270	9	n.c.	n.c.
Discount A r	2837	25.7	+2	+1.2
Discount A prf	3530	37.3	+50	+1.4
Discount A prf 10	2588	135.8	+15	+5.8
Discount B	158.0	1,212.3	+1.0	+6.4

### Commercial Services & Utilities

Delek r	2025	291.8	+328	+16.2
Delek db 2	2135	77.5	+105	+5.0
Delek db 1	8105	7	+1057	+12.0
Haral	410	628.9	+21	+5.0
Haral prf 1	519	121.7	+30	+5.8
Cold Store 0.1 r	39000	4.4	+1300	+3.0
Cold Store 1.0 r	19500	7.0	-200	-1.0
Haral prf 10	9170	6.5	+91	+1.0
Lightage 0.1	16400	21.8	+400	+2.5
Lightage 0.2	16400	21.8	+400	+2.5
Lightage db 1	1507	6.0	+72	+5.0
Magor	1495	55.5	-41	-2.7
Comet. Hold.	1371	39.2	-40	-2.8
Rapac 0.1 r	1491	17.8	+40	+2.7
Rapac 0.2 r	789	57.0	-14	-1.8
Rapac 0.3 r	507	88.5	+29	+3.6
Supervol A	11400	23.4	+47	+2.1
Supervol B	2210	11.1	+27	+2.5

### Land Development Building, Citrus

Oren	600	203.6	+1	+0.1
Oren op 1	550	127.8	+44	+3.9
Azaron r	1038	142.4	n.c.	n.c.
Azaron op C	1058	12.1	+40	+3.9
Azaron op D	501	42.2	+12	+2.5
Azaron op E	5060	5.4	+110	+2.0
Azaron op F	4510	8.4	n.c.	n.c.
Azaron op G	4850	8.4	n.c.	n.c.
Azaron op H	900	188.8	+98	+12.2
Azaron op I	300	395.9	+47	+10.0
Azaron op J	620	42.1	+42	+7.8
Azaron op K	1013	53.1	n.c.	n.c.
Azaron op L	1070	27.1	+20	+1.3
ILDC r	1585	71.7	+20	+1.3
ILDC B	1585	4.5	n.c.	n.c.
ILDC op A r	10600	4	+100	+1.0
ILDC op B r	4500	4	n.c.	n.c.
ILDC op C	1107	27.5	n.c.	n.c.
ILDC op D	2950	6	+50	+1.7
HLB Realty 0.1 r	617	137.3	-35	-3.9
HLB Realty 0.2 r	390	491.3	+10	+2.6
Solel Boneh prf A	58200	4.2	+700	+1.2
Modul Beton	1010	124.6	+10	+1.0
Modul Beton op 1	1010	124.6	+10	+1.0
Prop & Bldg C	2075	20.5	+130	+6.7
Prop & Bldg db 5	2820	15.3	+130	+4.4
Bayasid 0.1 r	1980	103.1	+90	+4.6
Bayasid 0.2 r	2430	149.4	+21	+1.4
Bayasid 0.3 r	1070	14.4	+20	+1.4
Bayasid 0.4 r	432	430.8	+27	+6.4
Bayasid 0.5 r	325	355.1	+28	+8.4
Bayasid 0.6 r	449	156.4	+18	+5.4
Bayasid 0.7 r	311	130.8	+20	+6.9
Bayasid 0.8 r	1048	17.4	+20	+1.9
Bayasid 0.9 r	711	101.6	+20	+2.0
Bayasid 1.0 r	572	31.5	+5	+1.1
Bayasid 1.1 r	5800	5.7	+100	+1.8
Bayasid 1.2 r	5445	5.9	+480	+10.0
Bayasid 1.3 r	3110	23.1	+110	+3.7
Bayasid 1.4 r	6700	6.2	-150	-2.2
Bayasid 1.5 r	1050	157.1	-50	-4.5
Bayasid 1.6 r	415	50.0	-20	-4.8
Bayasid 1.7 r	615	136.3	-10	-1.6
Bayasid 1.8 r	284	170.1	+19	+7.8
Bayasid 1.9 r	14600	18.4	n.c.	n.c.
Bayasid 2.0 r	14500	19.8	n.c.	n.c.

### Investment & Holding Companies

Union	1370	111.4	+154	+12.7
Union prf 10	1380	401.8	+4	+2.8
Union prf 10 prf	1870	38.7	+100	+6.8
Union prf 10 prf 10	5998	27.8	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf	1088	175.7	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	699	120.2	+77	+10.1
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	744	125.1	+77	+10.1
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	2550	23.0	+40	+1.6
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	910	142.8	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	1211	25.5	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	803	13.8	-18	-2.3
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	1640	26.8	-118	-7.0
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	1639	29.4	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	750	167.5	+21	+2.9
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	598	137.6	+21	+2.9
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	1888	1.7	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	7850	14.7	-10	-1.3
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	1755	26.0	+130	+8.0
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	1850	2.7	n.c.	n.c.
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	1777	36.4	+182	+10.0
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	1709	36.5	+158	+10.0
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10	1388	168.1	+128	+10.0
Union prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf 10 prf	960	415.3	+30	+3.2

## Slimming and Vacationing

at Tzameret Cnaan

Personal treatment, under the supervision of an expert dietician. On Sunday, June 20, the first combined slimming and vacation session will open.

Every session will last 7 days.

Pine grove, lawns, excursions, free entry to the municipal swimming pool.

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Tel. 255372

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THE JEWISH AGENCY

ISRAEL EDUCATION FUND OF THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

Tender No. 81/422/82

1. THE JEWISH AGENCY (hereinafter the Agency) invites tenders from building contractors for the construction of the

2. The project is for the construction of 340 a.m.

3. Conditions of the tender as well as all other pertinent information can be obtained from Monday, May 31, 1982 from the Agency, 17 Kaplan Street, Tel Aviv, room 717 between 9.00 a.m.-12 noon, against a non-refundable deposit of IS 1,000

4. A special tour of the construction site for contractors will be held on Tuesday, June 10, 1982 departing at 12 noon from the Parades Hanna-Karkur Local Council.

5. Bids should be submitted not later than 1.00 p.m. on Wednesday, June 30, 1982 at the address mentioned in paragraph 3 above.

6. Conditions of payment, in cash, to be arranged according to the contract to be signed.

7. This tender is open only to contractors registered in accordance with the Act regarding Registration of Contractors for the execution of Engineering and Construction Works 1959, such contractors to abide by requirements of the Act and to be eligible to carry out the works as specified.

8. The Agency does not undertake to accept the lowest, or any other bid.

DRIVE WITH CARE

## ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION

Haifa District

## MINISTRY OF CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSING

Northern District

## ACRE MUNICIPALITY

## Build Your House in Acre

In cooperation with Acre Municipality and the Ministry of Construction and Housing, the Israel Lands Administration announces registration for the above scheme, under which 24 plots will be allocated for the building of 24 housing units.

Registration is open only to those with Ministry of Housing 'rights' who are Acre residents, or who are 'required staff', as confirmed by a certificate issued by the Centre for Direction to Development Areas.

Registration will open on Monday, May 31, 1982 at 9 a.m., at the offices of Acre Municipality, and will close at 12 noon on June 30, 1982.

Additional particulars, and a detailed prospectus are available at Acre Municipality, and also at the offices of the Israel Lands Administration, 13 Rehov Ha'atzma'ut, Haifa.

## Tel Aviv selected bond prices

	Price	Change	7% Gov't (80% C-o-L)	Price	Change
1997 Linked	381.7	+3.1	3522	Group 62. Yield:	+1.16
3802	319.2	+2.7	3526	Group 63. Yield:	+1.16
3804	274.8	+2.5	3536	Group 64. Yield:	+1.29
4% Gov't develop.			3544	Group 65. Yield:	+1.29
Group 1. Yield:	+0.80		3544	Group 66. Yield:	+1.29
3001	9938.0	+1.0	3544	Group 67. Yield:	+1.29
3007	6449.0	+51	3544	Group 68. Yield:	+1.29
Group 7. Yield:	+468.0		3544	Group 69. Yield:	+1.29
3020	4568.0	+1.0	3544	Group 70. Yield:	+1.29
3025	4522.0	n.c.	3544	Group 71. Yield:	+1.29
Defence loan 89.			3544	Group 72. Yield:	+1.29
210 (Reish Yod)			3544	Group 73. Yield:	+1.29
4% Gov't (80% C-o-L)			3544	Group 74. Yield:	+1.29
Group 22. Yield:	+1.51		3544	Group 75. Yield:	+1.29
3101	3637.0	+38.0	3544	Group 76. Yield:	+1.29
3106	3161.0	+17.0	3544	Group 77. Yield:	+1.29
Group 24. Yield:	+302.0		3544	Group 78. Yield:	+1.29
2110	2853.0	+16.0	3544	Group 79. Yield:	+1.29
3115	2853.0	+16.0	3544	Group 80. Yield:	+1.29
4% Gov't (80% C-o-L)			3544	Group 81. Yield:	+1.29
Group 42. Yield:	+1.41		3544	Group 82. Yield:	+1.29
3210	223.0	+12.0	3544	Group 83. Yield:	+1.29
3208	223.0	+12.0	3544	Group 84. Yield:	+1.29
6% Gov't (80% C-o-L)			3544	Group 85. Yield:	



Ari Rath  
Editor and  
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM  
POST

Erwin Frenkel  
Editor

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## Strategic misunderstanding

ALTHOUGH they may not be on an actual collision course in the matter, at least not yet, Israel and the U.S. plainly differ radically in their assessments of the relative threats posed by the two embattled Gulf adversaries, Iran and Iraq.

America still claims to be technically a neutral in the conflict, but everything indicates that it is now firmly on the side of the apparent loser, Iraq. It is not simply that the memory of the humiliations visited upon the U.S. by its former Iranian friend and ally are still fresh, and that they rankle; the fundamentalist Moslem regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini, which is increasingly drawing support from the Soviet Union, is seen in Washington as a clear and present danger to the stability of the "moderate" pro-Western Arab states of the Gulf region, and to the West's standing in the entire Middle East. Iraq, whatever its past sins, is now regarded as part of that pro-Western alignment.

That is why the Reagan administration, in its eagerness to firm up the "moderate" against Iran, is ready not only to arm Saudi Arabia and Jordan but to sell weapons to Iraq as well. For the same reason the U.S. government bristles at the idea of Israel providing arms, in however meagre an amount, to Iran.

In Israeli eyes, on the other hand, the Khomeini tyranny, however hateful, is mere foam over the Gulf waters. Sooner or later, when the war is over, it will disappear, and power in Teheran will be seized by the victorious army commanders with whom Israel — and the U.S., too — had such a fruitful liaison in the past. A long-range strategy, therefore, requires that at least a small window be kept open to Iran — which is in any case strategically more important than Iraq. The value of Iraq is only in its being an implacable enemy of Israel, which is now getting its due from Iran.

For its part, then, Israel has tried to keep a "small window" open to Iran through a limited programme of military sales, as Defence Minister Ariel Sharon publicly confirmed during his visit in Washington last week.

Mr. Sharon has meantime come under fire at home for authenticating as a fact something that, until last week, was only an unverified press report. This is probably an unjust accusation. True, the defence minister's claim that his was the only way to fight back a vicious campaign designed to undermine Israel's opposition to the arming of Jordan with mobile Hawk missiles and F-16s, may be taken with a grain of salt. But there is little doubt that — unlike the Israeli-Ethiopian arms relationship, snuffed out four years ago by Moshe Dayan's premature disclosure — the Israeli-Iranian connection has been a matter of common knowledge for some time. It has not been denied even in Teheran itself, where gifts from the "devil" himself are considered perfectly acceptable.

To sort out truth from fiction about that connection, however, it was necessary for Mr. Sharon to set the record straight, and out in the open. Thus the defence minister had established, contrary to some rumours, that Israel had not been a major arms supplier to Iran, and that it could hardly be credited with an important share in the recent Iranian military successes. This made it possible for the State Department's own spokesman to acknowledge that the Israeli sales had been worth just about \$27m., a not very impressive figure.

But the spokesman, Dean Fischer, contradicted Mr. Sharon's contention that the U.S. had not only been privy to all of Israel's plans, but had voiced no objections to them. The U.S., Mr. Fischer stated, had tried in vain to talk Israel out of going through with its programme. There is no reason to disbelieve the assertion.

Israel's obduracy clearly was not dictated by any commercial considerations. Unlike most of Israel's arms transactions, such as the one with Argentina, for example, the deal with Iran was strictly political in nature. But can Israel afford to conduct an independent Iranian policy, even counter to America's preference?

Had Iran been central to Israel's own security concerns, the answer might well be in the affirmative. In that case, even a collision course might have recommended itself. But that is not the case. In other words, Israel is insisting on its right, as a matter of principle, to run its own policy show, uncoordinated with America's grand strategic design. There are without question some good arguments to be adduced for such a doctrine of independence. But the doctrine hardly squares with any idea of strategic coordination with America, such as underlies the soon-to-be-revived Memorandum of Understanding.

# FOREIGN POLICY IN SHAMBLES

By GABI SHEFFER

THOSE who do not live in a fool's paradise cannot but realize that Israel's foreign and defence policies are in a state of chaos. Although the main manifestations of the disarray are quite obvious, they should be emphasized.

First, in spite of recent American signals, U.S.-Israel relations are tense and, on the whole, unfriendly. Current talk about the renewal of the strategic dialogue is, in fact, only a means of restraining Israel from a massive operation in Lebanon and delicately coercing it to resume negotiations on the West Bank.

If one considers the respective composition and personalities of the Israeli and American governments, one concludes that a major change in the U.S. attitude toward Israel is unlikely in the near future. The Americans are quite suspicious of Israel and show great reluctance to revive intimate relationships. Thus, Israel is now reaping the sour fruits of its unplanned and uncontrolled actions. It seems as though the Israeli Government did its best to alienate a potentially pro-Israeli administration. Despite a certain talk about the role of Jews in the last U.S. elections and despite the Reagan Administration's ultra-conservative attitudes toward Jews and Israel, initially it was inclined favourably toward this country.

Furthermore, nobody should be fooled by the fact that Israel still gets military and economic aid from the U.S. American inertia in these spheres should not conceal some unpleasant undercurrents. The basis for a mutual understanding between the superpower and its client is deteriorating.

The "soft" elements in the U.S.-Israeli bond — those intangibles in foreign relations — are eroding. And since the "hard" military and economic support that Israel gets is based on those "soft" elements, there is no place for calmness here. If the present erosion continues, the whole structure may be damaged. There are many precedents for such a scenario.

SECONDLY, although the Israeli media has been bombarded by reports about possibly renewing diplomatic relations with African countries, it seems that the actual situation is far from rosy. Israel's isolation in the international arena is still unmatched. Here again, the crux of the matter is not whether a number of African states are reopening their embassies in Tel Aviv, but rather their profound objection to Israeli policies and behaviour. In this respect, Israel's standing in most countries is at a very low ebb.

Thirdly, in the Middle East the impasse is complete. The possibility of a new breakthrough is pretty small. The prognosis for a negotiated solution of the Palestinian issue and for a vigorous process of normalization with Egypt is bleak. It is true that Egypt has its own constraints preventing the speeding up of the normalization process. The Egyptians are becoming deeply engaged in improving their relations with other Arab states. This should have been expected. But Israel is contributing more than its fair share to Egypt's anxieties and lack of enthusiasm for more effort in this sphere.

Furthermore, Israel is pursuing a highly problematic policy in South Lebanon. In principle, brinkmanship is fine, but when timing and goals are not of a high standard, then the risk of gross mistakes is great. Until now this policy has only little effect on other fronts. However, escalation in the North, which should not be ruled out, could affect the process of normalization.

Fourthly, and most unpromising, is the situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, one nearly of stalemate. A great deal of Israel's energy is wasted on unnecessary actions. Although none of these steps can dramatically change the situation in the West Bank, they increase the long-range erosion in Israel's international standing, as well as hav-

ing a negative effect on the possibility of a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

THERE ARE many reasons for this chaos. Ideology is an important underlying cause for many current Israeli policies. The combination of Herut ideological positions on the annexation of the West Bank, Sharon's notions about the Arabs and the Soviet Union, the supporters of massive settlement in the West Bank and the religious fanaticism about it are at the root of some policies adopted by Israel.

Israel's failures also reflect an amazing lack of political and diplomatic sophistication in the government, which is reinforced by a significant decline in the expertise of dealing with complex international phenomena.

By uncontrolled statements and hazardous actions, Israeli politicians create unnecessary confrontations with foreign governments. Equally, they lack a sense of timing, which is crucial in international relations. The other ill of Israeli policy-making are its reactive nature and the fact that it is emotional, and not rational. These are well-known weaknesses, and one could easily add to them.

There is, however, a major obstacle to the formation of reasoned foreign and defence policies that has not been sufficiently considered. There is a substantial gap between the domestic situation in which the government is operating and the international arena.

On the international level, Israel forces what is almost a lack of respect and immense criticism. It is perceived both in the U.S. and Europe as a state governed by a relatively small group of fanatics — nationalist and religious — who are leading the country in dangerous zig-zags. Furthermore, the correct perception abroad is that the Israeli politicians are acting without any consideration of the accepted international rules. In short, the image of Israel, is that it is simply a "crazy state."

On the other hand, there is no doubt that inside Israel, the govern-

## Dry Bones



ment enjoys popular support mainly for adventurous anti-Arab policies. This stems from an unexplained mistrust of Egypt; scepticism about Jordan's intentions and goals; enmity vis a vis the Syrians; and a deep hatred directed at the Palestinians in general and the PLO in particular. Only in this respect is there a hardline shift in the Israeli public.

In other spheres, the nation is more evenly divided in regard to acceptance and rejection of government policies. It seems that Prime Minister Begin correctly reads these tendencies and mood, and therefore he intends to base his next election campaign on foreign policy issues.

THUS, more than ever before, Israeli foreign policy is based not on actual events in the world or the Middle East, but rather on unfounded notions totally disconnected from international reality. In other words, foreign policy is formed as a function of shifts in domestic politics. In the process, unimportant bickering inside the Likud, disagreements between disgruntled coalition partners and

the whims of individual politicians become major factors determining whether policy is oppressive or restrained. Domestic politics are not a latent factor influencing Israel's foreign and defence policies, but the explicit reason for many alarming moves.

Paradoxically, precisely for this structural reason, it is essential that the government preach moderation. Since there is a tremendous turmoil in domestic politics and the shifts are rapid, there should be some restraints put on unnecessary internal influences. The goal should be to break the vicious circle in which Israeli foreign policy is developing these days. Domestic upheaval can wreck not only Israeli-U.S. relations, or the normalization process, but also close options for serious attempts to conclude the Arab-Israeli conflict in a peaceful way.

There is no internal political force that can now break this vicious circle. The question is whether such a source of power and wisdom exists at all.

The writer teaches political science at the Hebrew University.

## READERS' LETTERS

### EL AL EMPLOYEES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I would be interested to learn from what source Yitzhak Haimowitz gains his insight into the working habits of El Al (Letters — May 14). As an employee's wife, I write with personal knowledge. Contrary to popular assumption, El Al does not operate for the sole benefit of the workers. In fact, on Sabbath, there is a skeleton staff of maintenance workers. They often have to cope with a full work load, not because this work is "put off." There is a constant need to repair and maintain aircraft to comply with international safety regulations and schedules to be met. Any overtime benefit is soon swallowed by income tax and only makes up for basic pay, which is not high for the ordinary worker.

There is a completely different, but crucial aspect to El Al. During the Yom Kippur War, not one foreign airline was operating to this country. There were thousands of our people desperate to return. How many flew home on overloaded El Al jumbos and what numbers were needed by the army and sent immediately to the front lines upon arrival? As usual, in time of crisis, we could only count on ourselves and if for no other reason than this, we need our own national and viable airline.

JACIE TEFF

### PALESTINIAN STATE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In his recent TV interview, the Chief of Staff said that no society could tolerate the fact that its children should be the targets of Katyusha attacks. It is logical to assume that the inhabitants of the administered territories cannot tolerate the fact that their children are shot at and killed almost daily. Also, the inhabitants of the refugee camps in the Lebanon cannot tolerate the fact that their children are subjected to aerial bombardments.

In order to put an end to the shooting of children on both sides, the only logical solution, which will enable the two people to live in peace side by side, calls for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, in the pre-1967 borders. In order to achieve this solution, Israel must start negotiations with the PLO, which is the representative of the Palestinian people.

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### SPECIAL BOAT SERVICES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I refer to your UPI story of May 17 on the British Special Boat Services (not British Special Boat Squadron). This offspring of the British Eighth Army Commandos was organized in 1943 by Commander Seligman of London, an enthusiastic yachtsman. It operated out of Beirut.

As the then chief photo reporter of the Eighth Army, I managed, as the only photo reporter ever, to get on a sailing boat with the SBS. The

official captain was a Greek and we were all dressed up like Greek fishermen. After two quite adventurous weeks past German occupied islands, we reached Samos island. A few days later the Germans occupied Samos, I was wounded and we made it into the hills. Later on I escaped via Turkey with a fake passport of a neutral country.

NACHUM TIM GIDAL

Jerusalem.

### PIRI JARDEN

Piri Jarden. It could be mistaken for another Jerusalem artist whose name is Pini.

PIRI JARDEN

Jerusalem.

### HOLOCAUST SYNDROME

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I should like to thank Wim van Leer for his beautiful article "Fatal fascination" (May 7). Having studied the Holocaust (superficially, and certainly not in depth), I have felt in myself, and in the reactions of many people who tried to come to

grips with the phenomenon, similar patterns of behaviour and frustration. I therefore consider his article a significant contribution to the various disciplines dealing with the Holocaust and, maybe, our immediate future.

S.E. MOSES

Haifa.

## BAT MOR

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